THE COLLECTED WORKS OF

MAHATMA GANDHI

XX

(April - August 1921)

सत्यमेव जयते

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PREFACE

This volume covers the four months, April 14 to August 15 of 1921, the year of the slogan : "Swaraj in one year". Everything that Gandhiji said or did at this time was directed towards clarifying his concept of swaraj, training people to attain fitness for it, and mentally preparing them for its early achievement. His speeches and writings in *Young India* and *Navajivan* concentrated at first on the Bezwada programme of March 1921, which had fixed specific targets to be reached by June 30 for the Tilak Swaraj Fund, Congress membership and the spread of the charkha.

Gandhiji was clear in his own mind that the promise of "Swaraj in one year" was far from unconditional. He would test fitness for swaraj not only in terms of the Bezwada mandate but also by the fulfilment of the swadeshi programme, perfect non-violence and Hindu-Muslim unity.

Gandhiji's opposition was to the system of Government. In his appeal to "Every Englishman in India" he wrote : ". . . man is superior to the system he propounds. . . . Here in India you belong to a system vile beyond description. It is possible, therefore, for me to condemn the system in the strongest terms, without considering you to be bad. . . . Our corporate life is based on mutual distrust and fear. This, you will admit, is unmanly . . . join me in destroying a system that has dragged both you and us down." (pp. 366-7) Gandhiji's aim was "a commonwealth of nations which will combine, if they do, for the purpose of giving their best to the world, and of protecting, not by brute force but by self-suffering, the weaker nations or races of the earth." (p. 296)

How was swaraj to be established? Gandhiji's reading of history was that the British people did not yield to justice pure and simple. It was too abstract for their common sense. They would respond when the Indian people had shown sufficient strength of purpose and undergone a measure of self-sacrifice, or when justice was allied with force. Whether it was brute force or soul-force, they did not mind.

But Gandhiji was sure that the force he should employ was non-violent non-co-operation. He deprecated methods of subterfuge, secrecy and violence. At the Gujarat Political Conference on June 1, he moved the resolution which advocated non-co-opera-

tion. In persuading the Ali Brothers to issue a statement disclaiming any intention to resort to violence or to league with foreign enemies, he brought on himself much criticism from many quarters, but morality was for him higher than politics, and he commended the apology as "a guiding-star to the straying non-co-operators. They must continually purify themselves even in front of their opponents, and at the risk of their action being mistaken for weakness. In the process of putting themselves in the right, they must not count the cost. That is the implication of following truth for truth's sake . . . " (p. 249).

The Non-co-operation campaign had been aimed at removing "the hallucination about titles, law-courts, schools and Councils." (p. 14) It was not, it could not be, suspended till the end was reached. It was always open to the people to resort to it. It was a movement "intended to invite Englishmen to co-operate with us on honourable terms or retire from our land . . . to place our relations on a pure basis, to define them in a manner consistent with our self-respect and dignity." (p. 16)

The primary aim of the movement was self-purification, the revival of the Kshatriya spirit. "Even our prayer should be not for swaraj, but for strength to win it." (p. 100) "We are not even trying to change the British, we are trying to reform ourselves." (p. 122) His "Himalayan mistake" lay in his misjudging "the preparedness of the country". (p. 61) To criticism by *The Times of India* that he had changed, he replied that there was no real difference between the old Gandhi and the new, but that the new had a clearer conception of satyagraha and prized the doctrine of ahimsa more than ever.

Criticism from the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, was a challenge that Gandhiji met in firm and categorical terms. He counselled patience and a clear distinction between the movement and its excrescences. He wrote : "Non-co-operation may have come in advance of its time. India and the world must then wait, but there is no choice for India save between violence and non-co-operation." The Poet need not fear that the movement was "intended to erect a Chinese wall between India and the West. On the contrary, non-co-operation is intended to pave the way to real, honourable and voluntary co-operation based on mutual respect and trust. . . . Non-co-operation is a protest against an unwitting and unwilling participation in evil." (p. 162)

In the course of a note on "English Learning", Gandhiji made his classic declaration insisting on the native strength which alone

can assimilate foreign influence. "I hope I am as great a believer in free air as the great Poet. I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the cultures of all the lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any. I refuse to live in other people's houses as an interloper, a beggar or a slave. . . . Mine is not a religion of the prison-house. It has room for the least among God's creation. But it is proof against insolence, pride of race, religion or colour." (p. 159)

The ground was being prepared for a fresh expression of the non-co-operation spirit. The Viceroy's Simla speech was "all right"—a preliminary effort at a study of the movement. "One misses in the Viceregal speech," Gandhiji wrote a little later, "a frank recognition of the many failures of the past, and therefore, a sincere desire for opening a new page." (p. 188) Yet on June 24, he was "deeply grieved" over the Viceroy's *communique* and speech regarding the Ali Brothers' apology neither of which was factually correct. On June 28, he asked that an agreed account of the circumstances and character of his interviews with the Viceroy in May be published. He feared that the Viceroy had passed into the hands of a bureaucracy that was "clever, united and unscrupulous".

It became the duty of the non-co-operators henceforth to preach disaffection for the existing system of Government and to prepare the country for civil disobedience. He made clear the relationship between non-co-operation and civil disobedience. "Disobedience is the acutest form of non-co-operation . . . It is a total denial of the authority of the State, and is permissible only when the State has proved itself corrupt beyond redemption." (p. 229) Gandhiji had himself refused to appear as a witness before the Military Requirements Committee.

On July 17, the Non-co-operation Committee consisting of Gandhiji, Shaukat Ali, Dr. Kitchlew and Khatri issued a report urging greater effort for fulfilling the Bezwada and Non-co-operation programmes. Gandhiji recognized that the most religious of all movements, as he described it, would entail a great deal of sacrifice and suffering. "The Temple of Freedom is not erected without the blood of sufferers." (p. 441) Repeated arrests and continuous incarceration were part of the price the people had to pay.

Gandhiji did concede the "dangerous" character of civil disobedience. While, on the one hand, it could never be put down

if the civil resisters were prepared to face extreme hardships, it was "a most dangerous experiment—that of inducing thousands of Mussulmans and, for that matter, Hindus too, to become and remain strictly non-violent, although their final creed permits them to resort to violence under given conditions." (p. 493) Nevertheless, Gandhiji discounted the feasibility of starting a civil disobedience movement then or in the immediate future. The country was not ready for its adoption on an extensive scale.

The target of the Tilak Swaraj Fund—a crore of rupees—had been reached by the end of June—a sensational achievement. More emphasis was now placed on swadeshi and boycott of foreign cloth—in order to create "an atmosphere that would enable us to inaugurate civil disobedience on a scale that no Government can resist." (p. 466)

On July 1, Gandhiji gave the call for complete boycott of foreign cloth by August 1, for, as he wrote, "To be able to enter the temple of swaraj, what we need is swadeshi. Swadeshi means boycott of foreign cloth." (p. 341)

About the middle of July, Gandhiji put into circulation a pledge to use only hand-woven swadeshi clothes. It was about this time that the 'bonfire' of foreign cloth became the 'burning' topic of the day. Gandhiji recommended all people to take a pledge on August 1 abjuring the use of foreign cloth. The people took the swadeshi vow *en masse*. The public meeting at Parel, at which there was the first huge bonfire of foreign cloth, took place on the night of July 31, which Gandhiji described as "a sacred day for Bombay". It was reminiscent of the meeting in Johannesburg in August 1908, at which the Indians had made a bonfire of their registration certificates. He stressed the significance of the act: "I look upon the ceremony of burning as a sacrament." (p. 455) The "outward fire is a symbol of the inner fire that should burn up all our weaknesses . . . our purified reason must show us the true economics of swadeshi." (pp. 458-9) "A glow of freedom passed through that vast concourse. It was a noble act nobly performed. . . ." (p. 486) And in a letter to Andrews he explained: "What I am trying to do just now is to perform a surgical operation with a hand that must not shake. . . . I look upon life as one of discipline and restraints . . . the people are silently and unconsciously transferring their hatred of sinners to sin itself." (p. 499)

What was the shape of the swaraj for which this was the preparation? Gandhiji left no room for doubt or ambiguity:

"Swaraj is a state of being of individuals and nations." (p. 99) "Swaraj is the abandonment of the fear of death." (p. 503) "Ability to plod is swaraj." (p. 528) *Ramarajya* meant "swaraj or the rule of dharma or people's rule. Such rule can be established only when the people themselves come to have a regard for dharma and learn to be brave." (p. 122) ". . . swaraj could not be granted even by God. We would have to earn it ourselves." (p. 133)

With the structure of swaraj Gandhiji refused to concern himself at the moment. So, when Bipin Chandra Pal raised the question, Gandhiji considered it premature and compared it with the act of a "mason trying to tackle the topmost storey before the foundation was solidly laid." (p. 232)

Such swaraj, or *dharmarajya*, the Kingdom of the righteous, could be achieved only by the means of non-violent non-co-operation. Gandhiji declared: "I have no desire to see anything but Right triumph. I have never believed and I do not now believe that the end justifies the means. . . . You cannot achieve a good end by bad means." (p. 492) He wanted to see India stand erect. In free India, there was no room for a governing class. The people were insistent more and more on governing themselves. "Good Government, they are coming to see, is no substitute for self-government." (p. 188) He was unable to accept the proposition that "whilst the distant goal must be one of freedom for India, its present state must be that of tutelage. . . . British rule is tainted with the blood of the innocent victims of Jallianwala, and with treachery towards Islam." (p. 189) Until these causes were removed, the unrest in India could not be cured. When England washed her hands clean, there was a possibility of even swaraj "within the Empire". But the Congress creed had been "purposely made elastic enough to admit of a demand for independence". (p. 355)

Of this independence Congress was obviously to be the instrument—Gandhiji emphasized. The Congress Constitution had been so devised "as to tax and prove the nation's capacity for self-government". He claimed that the greater the authority of Congress, the less must be that of the Government, so that "when the Congress commands complete confidence and willing obedience to its instructions, there is full swaraj." (p. 293) He wrote to N. C. Kelkar on July 4: ". . . we should make the Working Committee a swift, powerful and homogeneous body. . . . I do believe we can achieve all we want by efficiently working the Congress constitution. . . ." (p. 322)

Gandhiji continued to focus attention on social evils like untouchability. Wherever he spoke, he inveighed against the practice. It was Hindu society's duty to get rid of it. It was unacceptable to reason. It was contrary to truth and non-violence and, therefore, was certainly not dharma. He recognized that by this relentless criticism, he had alienated and antagonized many; but he would not compromise with untouchability. Likewise he persisted in emphasizing the need for communal unity. It was not a mere copy-book maxim with him. He saw clearly the truth: "Divided we must fall." (p. 89) He envisaged closer ties between labour and capital—not by legislation but by practice. Legislation in advance of public opinion was often worse than useless. Prohibition, too, was a compelling need. He declared: "Under every system of government, total prohibition, so far as I can see, will be insisted upon by the nation." (p. 368)

Perhaps the most precious thing in this Volume is "A Confession of Faith" (pp. 369-71), a touching tribute to Gokhale, in which Gandhiji stresses the sacredness of the *guru-shishya* relationship and praises his master in terms which the world would willingly apply to the disciple as well: "Pure as crystal, gentle as a lamb, brave as a lion, generous to a fault. . . the most perfect man in the political field."

NOTE TO THE READER

In reproducing English material every endeavour has been made to adhere strictly to the original. Obvious typographical errors have been corrected and words abbreviated in the text spelt out. Variant spellings of names have, however, been retained as in the original.

Matter in square brackets has been supplied by the Editors. Quoted passages, where these are in English, have been set up in small type and printed with an indent. Indirect reports of speeches and passages which are not by Gandhiji have been set up in small type. In reports of speeches and interviews, slight changes have sometimes been made in passages not attributed to Gandhiji.

While translating from Gujarati and Hindi, efforts have been made to achieve fidelity and also readability in English. Where English translations of these are available, they have been used with such changes as were necessary to bring them into conformity with the original.

The date of an item where it was available or could be inferred has been indicated at the top right-hand corner; if the original is undated, the inferred date is supplied within square brackets, with reasons where necessary. The date given at the end of an item alongside the source is that of publication. The writings are placed under the date of publication except where the articles carry a date line or where the date of writing has special significance and is ascertainable.

References to *An Autobiography* cite only the part and chapter, in view of the varying pagination in different editions.

In the source-line, the symbol S.N. stands for documents available in Sabarmati Sangrahalaya, Ahmedabad; G.N. refers to those available in the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and Sangrahalaya, New Delhi; C.W. denotes documents secured by the Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi.

The Appendices provide background material relevant to the text. A list of sources and a chronology for the period covered by the Volume are also provided at the end.

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April 15, 1921

I once advised the people to help the Government when it was in difficulties, saying that, if we wished to secure our rights under the Government, we must first do our duty. Accordingly, as soon as the campaign in the Kheda district had ended, I came to persuade the people to join the army.[2] I had got ready to do soldiering. I do not at all regret what I did. I see that it has brought nothing but profit to the people. By deciding that we should join the army, we showed our nobility. I am not sorry that we did so. I am sorry only for this, that when I went to the brave and stout-hearted *Patidars*[3] and *Thakores*[4], only a few came forward to enlist. The reason for it was not that they did not like the Government or lacked faith in it, but that they did not have the necessary courage. You were not ready to die. You did not like to die for the Government or for anyone else, but now the times have changed. Now I am opposing the Government; I consider it *adharma*[5] on our part to do soldiering for the Government; I have now lost all faith in it. At that time, I did not call this Government Satanic, but today I call this administration a Satanic Government or *Ravanarajya*[6]. That unique devotion with which I went about on foot in the Kheda district and that strength of mine which I used for the Government, that very strength of mine, a part of my noble heritage, I am now employing against the Government, for satyagraha means doing what is right.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 1-5-1921

[1] This and similar other reports of speeches which follow are extracted from the accounts of Gandhiji's tour in Gujarat published in *Navajivan*.

[2] *Vide* Vol. XIV.

[3] & [4] Names of communities forming bulk of the population in the Kheda district of Gujarat

[5] The opposite of dharma

[6] The rule of Ravana, as distinguished from *Ramarajya* which is traditionally regarded as the ideal political order

2. *SPEECH AT MEETING IN BORSAD*

April 15, 1921

When I visited Borsad earlier,[1] I did not succeed in my aim, but now there is awakening here. The first mark of awakening is that we should have developed the power of organizing meetings and of controlling processions. That requires training. Just as a fire or a waterfall cannot be utilized unless skilfully controlled, so awakening too is useless without discipline. The first mark of awakening is that, wherever we are, we should understand our duty.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 1-5-1921

3. *SPEECH AT TALUKA CONFERENCE, HALOL*[2]

April 16, 1921

For me, there can be decorations, presents and medals of khadi alone. The thing I have been given, however, is no sign of swaraj. One can see in this why we do not get swaraj this very day. You have elected as your president a man who calls himself a farmer and a weaver, and now a *Bhangi*[3]; and you have given him this purse! There is no weight in it either of paper [i.e., currency notes] or silver or gold. You have given me just an empty purse; and a still greater crime is that it is all made of foreign material.[4] Its dye is foreign, its yarn is foreign, the silk thread in it is foreign. Then what is swadeshi in it? I claim to be a leader of the swadeshi movement and I should know what is swadeshi and what is not swadeshi. The beauty of my definition of swadeshi is that if we follow such swadeshi, nobody can prevail over us. Swadeshi for Halol is what is made in Halol itself. Anything made anywhere else in India must be unacceptable to it. We, all of us, should

[1] During the Kheda Satyagraha in the summer of 1918; *vide* Vol. XIV.

[2] In the Panch Mahals district of Gujarat. Gandhiji presided over the conference.

[3] Literally scavenger, member of a community traditionally regarded untouchable

[4] Some person in the audience interrupted Gandhiji at this point, saying that it was swadeshi. The remarks which follow were in reply to this.

be self-sufficient and should compete for the first place. We shall get swaraj when we vie with one another with ever greater vigour in this matter. This is the key to swaraj.

I cannot bear to see the decorations here in the town. Not even an inch of foreign cloth should be used in them. Instead, such cloth is hung up all round. All the flags and buntings are of foreign stuff. Their dyes are all foreign. Understand, therefore, that these decorations are no better than rags. Since one puts up decorations for the sake of the guest, you should have done what would please me, at least out of courtesy and respect for me! We shall make progress towards swaraj only if we do everything thoughtfully and with understanding. The volunteers whom we see moving about here are dressed in English-style coat-and-trousers of duck cloth. How absurd that volunteers for swaraj work should use duck cloth! If you cannot afford to buy new khadi, I am ready to give you khadi to replace your duck cloth. If you feel too embarrassed to accept khadi from me, I would advise you to do your work as volunteers wearing only a loin-cloth. It is not that service can be rendered only by dressing oneself up like an Englishman. It is with your love and good behaviour that you should impress the people. If you are seeking to do so with your English trousers, give up the idea altogether. We should discard this apparel at least to keep up our dignity as Indians out to win swaraj. Personally, I would advise the volunteers to spin every day for two hours. You can be true volunteers only when you spin yourselves, get the yarn woven into cloth and wear that cloth.

In our swaraj army, grown-ups would not work as effectively as little boys and girls. The former are steeped in fraud, hypocrisy and pride. If these things disappear, we should get swaraj this very day. Though advanced in age, we should have innocence, like Maulana Shaukat Ali's[1]. This man's mind is as pure and tender as a child's. He wishes ill of none. He fears only God. Learn innocence from him. I have cultivated innocence by constant effort. I have built the embankment, putting a pebble at a time, have filled the pond drop by drop; it is still unfilled. Maulana Shaukat Ali has lived in luxury and yet he has the strength to mount the scaffold this moment. I revel in khadi and the touch of silk is torture to my body, whereas Shaukat Ali is in love with muslin and silk. When, nevertheless, he puts on khadi, the thing

[1] 1873-1938; nationalist Muslim politician; took a leading part in the Khilafat movement

must be regarded a miracle. He has embraced the hardships of a fakir's life for the sake of Islam.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 1-5-1921

4. *SPEECH AT CULTIVATORS' MEETING, HALOL*[1]

April 16, 1921

You, in particular, need manure to grow corn. Then, how can you despise the *Bhangis*? We want to bring *Satyayuga*[2] into this world. It will certainly not drop from the skies. We have to usher it in through our good deeds. All addictions, therefore, should be given up. How can a man who gets intoxicated with liquor, toddy, *ganja*[3], opium and such other things take care of an inestimable thing like a farm? You are verily the protectors of the land, the producers of food for the world. These days I have been applying to the Government epithets like robbers and devils; if you farmers, then, rob the people, how should you be characterized? If you give up your traditional goodness, your heroism and your truthfulness, if you, who are called the fathers of the world, oppress the people, that will be like the sea catching fire. To whom, then, should a man like me turn, one who, having come to dislike legal practice, describes himself as a weaver and a *Bhangi*? But I am sure that you are good and hence it is that I have become a farmer. The farmer's pillow is death. He sleeps with death under his head. Who could frighten him? You are kings, in fact, and I want you to remain so. The king who robs his subjects sins. Therefore, be good in your lives.

Go and give the message from this farmer Gandhi to other farmers, that he has asked them not to steal and not to gamble. Their duty is to grow corn and sell it at reasonable prices. They may not sell at a loss, but it is not right for a cultivator to make unduly large profits like a miserly trader. They will find theirs a worth-while profession only if they save themselves from this.

You need not do labour under compulsion. Will you slave on the farm or for the Government and its dishonest officials? Tell them that you are not serfs but farmers.

[1] As the cultivators who had arrived to attend the Taluka Conference could not hear Gandhiji's speech, a separate meeting was arranged for them in the evening.

[2] Literally "Age of Truth"; the Golden Age

[3] Hemp

Get rid of your addictions and learn self-control. Pray to God as you get up in the morning and then go to your work. It is not good that, in the evening, after unyoking the oxen, you start speaking foul language or singing filthy songs. In the late evening, sing *bhajans*[1] or join in *kirtans*[2] in praise of God. There are no rains these days because the king has become a sinner, and so have the subjects. God does not destroy us completely, since He wants to test us. Be good in your lives, therefore, give up addictions, engage yourselves in *bhajans* and *kirtans*; you will find, then, that you have all the rain you want.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 1-5-1921

5. *NOTES*

Language and Thought

It is rarely that language succeeds as a vehicle of thought. More often than not it conceals thought. Always language circumscribes thought. When, especially, a person translates from another's language, what difficulties are experienced and howlers perpetrated only translators and journalists know. We have been in such difficulties time and again. We published Shri Vamanrao Joshi's statement[3] in bold type on the front page. When we read the printed translation, we ourselves felt ashamed. We felt we had done an injustice to this brave man, or, rather, to readers. The message seemed to go against the ideas and methods which we wish to see prevail. The translation we printed was from English. Shri Vamanrao's original message was of course in Marathi. The objectionable element we find in our translation is not present in the original at all. "It is not our business to reveal our own shame in public"—is the view we have attributed to Shri Vamanrao.[4] Our courage lies in being ever ready to expose our shame. Shri Vamanrao wishes to cloak the people's shame by himself displaying courage and not by leaving that shame unexposed. By hiding their shame the people become emasculated, just as a disease

[1] & [2] Devotional songs and those sung in chorus, respectively

[3] In *Navajivan*, 14-4-1921. Joshi, who had been arrested on a charge of sedition, had stated that he did not want to defend himself.

[4] Joshi had held that their duty was to expose the misdeeds of foreigners and not to expose their own shame in public which, he implied, he would be doing by offering a defence. There was nothing more disgraceful, in his view, than that one Indian should be arrested by another and sentenced by a third.

grows by being concealed. If one Indian apprehends another and a third punishes the latter, there is no shame in this at all. There may be something to be ashamed of in the occasion itself. When, however, swaraj is established, an Indian policeman will arrest an Indian who has committed a crime and the latter will be punished by an Indian judge. That will not seem shameful; in fact, it will be normal and accepted as such. Shri Vamanrao has made his remarks with reference to the present situation. He has pointed to and exposed our shame in an Indian serving [the Government] for the sake of the belly, ever the cause of so many sins, arresting another innocent Indian, and in a judge, in the same position as the first Indian, sentencing the latter. But it pains us that we could not bring out in our translation all this meaning. However, we console ourselves with the thought that such errors are inevitable. We see what an inadequate instrument language is, especially the language of translation, for expressing our thoughts. Indeed, true speech consists in acting rather than in speaking. How can speeches ever reveal thoughts as action does? Let us all act as Shri Vamanrao does and read his message in his sacrifices, in his courage, in his fearlessness, his simplicity and his humility.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 17-4-1921

6. LETTER TO NARASINHRAO DIVETIA[1]

GODHRA,
Monday, April 18, 1921

DEAR FRIEND,

Mahadev tells me that the reference to Shri Dayaram Gidumal in my reply[2] to your open letter has hurt you very much. I did not make the remarks to hurt you. I made them to show my regard for you and Dayaramji, to let people know that, no matter what the world may say, you are both holy souls. All the same, if you feel hurt I shall make amends in any way you wish. How can I ever intend to give you pain?

I also understand that you are offended that I have not yet found it possible to call on you while I could pay a visit to Patel[3].

[1] 1859-1937; Gujarati poet and man of letters; professor of Gujarati, Elphinstone College, Bombay

[2] *Vide* Vol. XIX, pp. 176-81.

[3] Presumably Vithalbhai Patel

What defence shall I make? A visit to you should be a pilgrimage. To Patel I went on business—would I have even the time, after that, for a peaceful visit to you? Many of my most cherished dreams remain unfulfilled, as in this instance. Won't you forgive me, taking my word that I have not offended you knowingly?

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]
Narasinhraoni Rojanishi

7. SPEECH AT MEETING IN GODHRA

April 18, 1921

The main reason why we have become the *Bhangis* of this Empire, this Government, is that our *Vaishnavas*[1] and *Shaivas*[2], who call themselves orthodox *sanatanis*[3], behave like beasts towards the *Bhangis* and oppress them. The *Bhangis* are our kith and kin, our blood-brothers. We accept their service and do not even pay them adequate wages, so that they are obliged to live on the remains on our plates which we offer them and are driven to eat carrion. As for service, I do not think that a lawyer, a doctor or a collector serves society a whit more than a *Bhangi*. The *Bhangis*' services surely rank much higher than the services of these. If the former were to stop serving, what would be the plight of society? The calamity that has befallen us is the reward of the sin we have committed against the *Antyajas*[4]. The punishment for our sin has to be shared by the Muslims because they are our neighbours. Many Hindus cite Shastras for avoiding contact with the *Bhangis*. I tell you, however, if there is any Shastra which says that it is sin to touch a *Bhangi*, it is no Shastra. A Shastra can never be beyond the power of reason to understand, something which disregards truth. For the rest, the Shastras may be interpreted in any way one chooses. What do we not do in the name of the Shastras? In their name, mendicants consume bhang and smoke *ganja*; in the name of the Shastras, some devotees of a goddess consume

[1] Devotees of Vishnu, the Preserver in the Hindu Trinity, and His incarnation, Krishna

[2] Devotees of Siva, the Destroyer in the Hindu Trinity

[3] Hindus who accept the essentials of Hinduism as unalterable, the division of society into four castes being one of them

[4] Literally "last-born", communities of untouchables in general

mutton and wine and numberless people indulge in immoral practices; in the name of the Shastras, in the Madras Presidency, girls of tender age are forced to become prostitutes. What greater travesty of the Shastras can there be than this? I regard myself an orthodox *Vaishnava*; I believe in the *Varnashrama*[1] way of life. But I tell you, the idea that one gets polluted by touching a *Bhangi* is an excrescence on Hinduism, a kind of dirt which has settled on it.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 1-5-1921

8. REPLY TO WELCOME ADDRESS BY SURAT MUNICIPALITY

April 19, 1921

I must say that just as not every man can eat or digest a rich dish, I wonder whether I can digest the glowing praises showered on me. Some day, perhaps, I shall deserve them. I am doing my best in that direction. I have been striving to be able to vanquish untruth with truth and anger by refusing to oppose it with anger, and I wish that I should lay down my life in the effort. But, at present, the epithets you have applied to me are misplaced. If, hearing them, I become indifferent or overbearing or smugly assume that I already deserve them because people have offered them to me, immediately my degradation would begin. My effort should be, above everything else, to maintain humility and see that I do not transgress the limits of propriety. The country's good and mine lie in my working with this vigilance.

Your giving me a welcome address bespeaks the marvellous awakening in the country. It only means that the Municipality has realized its role. I hope to get much work for the country done through municipalities. And that is the reason why, in the resolutions adopted at the last two sessions of the Congress,[2] municipalities have not been asked to join the non-co-operation movement. Being what they are, the municipalities involve some element of co-operation, but then, at present, there is not a single thing of ours which is free from it. There is co-operation even in eating one single grain of wheat. The non-co-operation we are employing at present is so light that even a child can shoulder

[1] The organization of society into four castes, each with a distinctive function, and the division of life into four stages

[2] At Calcutta in September 1920 and at Nagpur in December 1920

its burden. If we can carry out intensive non-co-operation, it has such miraculous power that we can get swaraj in a day. But I have taken care to put before the country only a simple form of non-co-operation which the country will have strength enough to carry out, and every municipality can join it. If the municipalities in the country understand this and organize whatever work they can do, swaraj will be easy to win.

As regards what this Municipality can do, all I have to say is, keep the promise you have given to make an effort to act upon the advice of the Congress. Gird up your loins for the removal of untouchability. I have mentioned this first, leaving aside the spinning-wheel. The latter represents the supreme task to which we should bend all our efforts, but there is a still more important task for the Hindus, which is to see that not the slightest trace of untouchability survives. Work has to be done in the spinning-wheel movement, but in this our very mentality has to be transformed.

Last night I went to the *Bhangi* quarters in Godhra. I was in agony at the sight of the conditions there. I wonder why Hindus, sharp-eyed as they are, cannot see what is visible even to the naked eye, why they do not know that there is a carbuncle on their back.

You have been elected to get the city cleaned of its refuse, to look after the health of the people, to provide education for the children and to prevent diseases. You can do this only by raising the status of *Bhangis*. There will be no meaning in swaraj if you think merely of filling your pockets, just as England served its own interests on the pretence that it was fighting the War for the sake of small states like Belgium.

Why do I call this Government Satanic? It had drawn the sword not for defending the weak but for devouring them. In our swaraj, in our *dharmarajya*, there will be only one aim, to serve the weak. We can be called true swarajists only if we do *tapascharya*[1] to get pure swaraj which will provide cool shelter to all.

Thus, the uplift of the *Bhangis* is your first duty. Their streets must be clean, their houses tidy; they should have a convenient source of water. I now call myself a *Bhangi*. Personally, I delight in spending some time in a *Bhangi* locality. That is, indeed, a recreation for me. Fondling their children gives me joy. The Municipality, therefore, cannot be said to have discharged its duty so long as the *Bhangi* quarter is not in such condition that a man like me can stay there and observe the rules of hygiene.

[1] Self-suffering as moral discipline

By a national school, we should at the present time understand a school for spinning, for our education should provide us with the sustaining nourishment, which would make us free and radiant with vigour. I have been correcting my mistake with regard to education. If we try to impart no better education than what the Government provides, we shall go down. If we want to infuse strength into our people, the spinning-wheel is the only effective remedy. It is the basis of a golden plan for education. Introduce it in the schools and then you will not have to go begging to maintain them.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 5-5-1921

9. *NOTES*

FIGURES AND THEIR MEANING

For the guidance of the workers I give below a table showing the population in millions of each Congress Province and the proportion in hundreds of thousands to be collected by it for the Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund[1].

No.	Provinces	Population in millions	Proportion of subscription in thousands
1	Madras	20	650
2	Andhra	21	682
3	Karnatak	12	390
4	Kerala	7	227
5	Bombay	1	32.5
6	Maharashtra	12	390
7	Gujarat	11	357
8	Sind	4	130
9	U. P.	49	1,592
10	Punjab	27	877
11	N.-W. F.	3	97.5
12	Delhi.	1	32.5

[1] The Indian National Congress, in its annual session at Nagpur, on December 26, 1920, resolved to set up the All-India Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund. On March 31, 1921, the All-India Congress Committee meeting at Bezwada decided upon a target of one crore of rupees for the Fund. *Vide* Vol. XIX, p. 496.

No.	Provinces	Population in millions	Proportion of subscription in thousands
13	Ajmer Merwara	19	617
14	C. P. (Hindi)	9	292
15	C. P. (Marathi)	3	97.5
16	Berar	3	97.5
17	Bihar	29	942
18	Utkal	25	487
19	Bengal	47	1,527
20	Assam	4	130
21	Burma	12	390

Though the sum for the whole of India, for the memory which it is intended to perpetuate and for the purpose which it is to fulfil, is small enough, it will not be collected without persistent and widespread effort. The surest way of not collecting the sum will be for each province merely to think of its own quota and be satisfied with it. The surest and the quickest way of collecting the sum is for everyone and for every province to collect the whole or the most it can. Thus, a few millionaires of Bombay could, if they chose, subscribe the crore required in a day. It would be ridiculous for Bombay to fling its quota at India and rest content. Bombay alone can well shoulder the whole burden. Bombay has allowed India to think always that it can finance public movements. Bombay paid the lion's share to the Jallianwala Bagh Fund, Bombay paid the fattest contribution to the Congress Punjab Sub-Committee. Bombay has always out-distanced every other province in financial assistance. It will be equally ridiculous for Gujarat to be satisfied with its own quota of a little over 3½ lakhs. It can easily collect much more, whereas the United Provinces would appear to be hopeless if the past is any guide to the future. They have no rich public workers. Pundit Nehru who always gave liberally has ceased to earn his lakhs per year.[1] India's biggest beggar Pundit Malaviyaji[2] is not as yet available to the movement. It would be idle for us to expect the United Provinces to contribute

[1] Motilal Nehru had given up his legal practice and plunged into public work.

[2] Madan Mohan Malaviya (1861-1946); President, Indian National Congress, 1909 and 1918; founded the Banaras Hindu University in 1916, and was its Vice-Chancellor during 1919-40; member, Imperial Legislative Council, 1910-20; attended the Round Table Conference in London, 1931-32

their quota of nearly 16 lakhs. And yet if the forty-nine millions of the population of these provinces can be touched, if the big zemindars can be interested, what is sixteen lakhs? The savings of the drink bill can pay the whole quota. And it has Hardwar and Benares to fall back upon. The workers can easily get the rich pilgrims who visit these famous shrines to contribute to the Tilak Swaraj Fund. They must have faith, and courage that faith brings. Similarly Bengal. Bengal has many rich men but it has not as yet shone for its patriotic finance. Mr. Das[1] has to beat new ground. With the assistance of the Marwadis and the Gujaratis domiciled in Calcutta, Bengal should have no difficulty. Ajmer Merwara will be hard put to it to find its quota of over six lakhs. It has to work among the different States. Its is perhaps the most difficult plight. For the Mussulmans, Ajmer is a name to conjure with. The thousands of Mussulmans who visit Ajmer Shariff can make a handsome contribution to the Tilak Swaraj Fund. Every worker must realize that there is not a moment to lose. I invite the heads of each province to send weekly notes of sums collected by them for publication. There must be systematic house-to-house collection. Gujarat has copied the Punjab. It has receipts on coloured art paper, containing a fine portrait of the deceased patriot in a corner. The map of India ornaments the rest of the receipt. At the back are printed the ten conditions of swaraj. The receipt is acknowledged in Gujarati, Devnagari and Urdu scripts. They have one-rupee, five-rupee and ten-rupee receipts. The Punjab had already collected Rs. 1,85,000 up to the 12th instant. The programme[2] put before the country by the All-India Congress Committee is an easy programme for business people. It is an impossible task for idle dreamers or platform orators. India cannot establish swaraj without the swaraj workers developing fine business habits.

An Injured Eye

Attention has been drawn in these columns to the temperance activity in Ahmedabad and its great self-restraint. Dr. Kanuga was so seriously hurt in the eye by an unknown stone thrown that he might have lost it. As it was, he had to be laid up for a few days.

[1] Chittaranjan Das (1870-1925); President, Indian National Congress, 1922; founded the Swarajya Party in 1923

[2] Apart from collections for the Tilak Swaraj Fund, the Congress had called for the enrolment of a crore of Congress members and the introduction of two million spinning-wheels in the villages and cities. These objectives, embodied in what became known as the Bezwada Programme of the Congress, were to be achieved by June 30, 1921.

He stood his ground inspite of the injury till he was relieved. The other pickets continued at their post. There was no panic. Naturally there was no complaint. The result was electrical. The drinking party was nonplussed. The stone-throwing lost its force for want of reaction. And I understand that after the incident there has been no stone-throwing at all. The effect on the visitors to the drink shops has also been equally great. I regard this as one of the best examples of non-violence and its immediate results. Had Dr. Kanuga complained to the police, or his companions retaliated, there would have been a confusion of issues. All kinds of side issues would have been raised and, as usual, feeling would have run high among parties and, what is worse, the cause of temperance would have suffered a set-back. Dr. Kanuga's bravery, sacrifice and self-restraint have advanced the cause for which he has bled, it has checked any further exhibition of temper on the part of the publicans and their friends and raised the temperance crusade to a very high level.

A Magistrate's Vagaries

That O'Dwyerism[1] is not dead in India has been demonstrated by the Cantonment Magistrate of Dehradun ordering on the Satyagraha Day, that shops in his Cantonment must be opened, on pain of the shopkeepers' being banished from it in the event of disobedience of his orders. Little do people know that, in Cantonments, Magistrates enjoy powers which are elsewhere exercised under Martial Law only. The residents within Cantonment limits are at the mercy of Magistrates. The wonder is that people have so long and so patiently put up with a system of government conceived with a view to check[ing] their liberty to the point of enslaving them.

Editorial Change

I regret to inform the reader that Mr. Lalchand Adwani, who was Assistant Editor, has been relieved of his charge and has now no connection at all with *Young India* in any capacity. Communications for *Young India* should therefore be addressed simply, Editor, *Young India.*

Young India, 20-4-1921

[1] The reference is to the Martial Law regime in 1919 of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Lt.-Governor of the Punjab, during which the Jallianwala Bagh massacre and other acts of oppression, official high-handedness and brutality were committed.

10. *THE MISTS*

Whenever I find my friends misunderstanding the movement, I mutter to myself the words of a celebrated hymn: "We shall know each other better when the mists have rolled away." A friend has just sent me the paragraphs on non-co-operation in the *Servant of India* of the 14th instant. It is such a fruitless task explaining resolutions and motives. The year will soon pass away, and our actions, more than words, will demonstrate the meaning of non-co-operation.

For me non-co-operation is not suspended, and never will be, so long as the Government has not purged itself of the crimes against India—the Mussulmans and the Punjabis, and so long as the system is not changed to respond to the will of the nation. Surely it was necessary to remove the hallucination about titles, law-courts, schools and Councils. I venture to think that, on the whole, the nationalists have responded nobly in regard to these items. There are no titled men among them, no nationalist lawyer who has not suspended practice has any public status among non-co-operators, schools and colleges have furnished boys and girls who are now giving a good account of themselves and who, I make bold to say, will stagger humanity by their sacrifice when the time of their trial has arrived. Those who have refrained from entering the Councils are rendering, as all who care may see, a service which they could not have rendered in the Council halls. The few who have given up their titles have shown the way to the others. All these are acting as leaven in the community. Now, there is little need for verbal propaganda among these special classes. The action and character of those who have renounced titles, schools, courts or Councils constitute a propaganda more telling and effective than speeches. National schools are multiplying themselves, boys are still leaving schools and colleges. The Government statistics are hopelessly wrong. I remember having seen a councillor quoting that less than 3,000 students had left educational institutions. This takes no count of thousands who are studying in nationalized schools. The number of suspensions of practice is steadily growing—see the list of suspensions in Dharwar and Guntur given in another column. Even titles are still being surrendered. And as the timid or the cautious realize that the movement is a serious and a religious effort, that it has taken permanent hold of the people, they too will renounce.

I should not be surprised if the history of the South African movement repeats itself in India. I should be surprised if it proves otherwise. The movement in South Africa started with a unanimous resolution.[1] When the first part began, the majority weakened. Only 150 were found willing to court imprisonment. Then there was a settlement and a breach and a revival. Nobody even believed, save a few of us, that the response would come in time. Well, the last stage commenced with sixteen men and women who sought imprisonment. This was followed by a perfect storm. The whole community rose like a surging wave. Without organization, without propaganda, all—nearly 40,000—courted imprisonment. Nearly ten thousand were actually imprisoned. The sequel is known. The community gained all it had fought for at the time.[2] A bloodless revolution was effected after strenuous discipline in self-suffering.

I refuse to believe that India will do less. To recall Lord Canning's words, under the blue and serene Indian sky a cloud no bigger than a man's thumb may appear on the horizon, but it may any moment assume dimensions unexpected by any, and no man can tell when it may burst. When India as a whole will respond by action, I cannot say. But this I do say that the educated classes to whom the Congress has appealed will one day—and probably during this year—respond in a manner worthy of the nation.

But whether they do or not, the progress of the nation cannot be arrested by any person or class. The uneducated artisans, the women, the men in the street, are taking their share in the movement. The appeal to the educated classes paved the way for them. The goats had to be sifted from the sheep. The educated classes had to be put upon their trial. The beginning had to be made by and through them. Non-co-operation has hitherto, thank God, followed its natural course.

Swadeshi propaganda in its intensive and exclusive form had to come and it has come in its order. It was, and is, part of the non-co-operation programme. It is, I claim, the biggest, the safest, and the surest part. It could not be taken up earlier in its present form. The country had to see its way clear to the spinning-wheel. It had to be purged of the old superstitions and prejudices. The country had to appreciate the futility of the boycott

[1] This was the famous "Fourth Resolution"; *vide* Vol. V, p. 423.

[2] For an assessment in retrospect of the South African struggle, *vide* Vol. XII, Appendix XXVIII.

of British goods merely, and equally of *all* foreign goods. It had to see that it lost its liberty by giving up swadeshi in cloth and that it could regain it by reverting to hand-spun and hand-woven cloth. It had to see that it lost its artistic taste and talent, when it innocently ceased to spin and weave by the hand. It had to see that it was not even so much the military drain as the loss of this supplementary industry that sapped India's vitality and made famines an ever-recurring event in Indian life. Men with faith in the spinning-wheel had to rise in every province, and people had to appreciate the beauty and the use of khaddar.

All these things have now happened. The crore men and women and the crore rupees are required to resuscitate this national dharma. The problem is not that of a few charkhas but of putting charkhas in every one of the six crore homes. The problem is that of manufacturing and distributing the whole of the cloth required by India. It cannot be done by one crore rupees. But if India gives one crore rupees, one crore men and women, and introduces two million charkhas in working order in as many homes before the 30th June, she is nearly ready for swaraj. Because the effort will have created, in the nation as a whole, all the qualities that make a nation good, great, self-reliant and self-contained. When the nation has, by a voluntary effort, completed its boycott of foreign cloth, it will be ready for swaraj. Then I promise that the various forts in the Indian cities will, instead of being an insolent menace to the freedom of India, become playgrounds for her children. Then the relations between Englishmen and ourselves will have been purified. Then the Lancashire vote will have been sterilized. And Englishmen will, if they choose, remain in India as friends and equals, with one sole aim —truly of benefiting and helping India. Non-co-operation is a movement intended to invite Englishmen to co-operate with us on honourable terms or retire from our land. It is a movement to place our relations on a pure basis, to define them in a manner consistent with our self-respect and dignity.

But call the movement by any other name. Call it 'swadeshi and temperance'. Assume that all these previous months have been a waste of effort. I invite the Government and the moderate friends to co-operate with the nation in making hand-spinning universal and in making drinking a crime. Neither party need speculate as to the result of these two movements. The tree will be judged by its fruit.

Young India, 20-4-1921

11. DIVIDE AND RULE

Sir William Vincent's[1] speech before the Legislative Assembly makes painful reading. I shall hope that he has been kept in utter darkness by his informants and that the speech is ignorant, not unscrupulous.

It is a plausible defence of the Government's policy of repression. It is a distortion or concoction of facts. It is an appeal to our cupidity and a misinterpretation of the motives of non-co-operationists.

He says that the declared object of non-co-operationists is paralysis of the Government and that "in their effort to achieve the object there is no source of discontent which they have not used". Now both these statements are half-truths. The primary object of non-co-operation is nowhere stated to be paralysis of the Government. The primary object is self-purification. Its direct result must be paralysis of a Government which lives on our vices and weaknesses. Similarly, it is a dangerous half-truth to say that we have left no source of discontent unused. We could not help using sources of legitimate discontent. But non-co-operationists have rigidly refrained from using any and every discontent, if only because we would weaken our cause if we did. The illustration of what I mean will be best seen from the refutation of the very next sentence which Sir William has spoken in support of his contention: "Wherever they find discord between employer and employee, there some agent or emissary of non-co-operation party proceeds at once to foster discontent and promote ill-feeling." This is not only untrue, but it is an incitement to the two to oppose non-co-operation. The avowed policy of non-co-operation has been not to make political use of disputes between labour and capital. They have endeavoured to hold the balance evenly between the two—we would be fools if we wantonly set labour against capital. It would be just the way to play into the hands of a Government which would greatly strengthen its hold on the country by setting capitalists against labourers and *vice versa*. In Jharia, for instance, it was a non-co-operator who prevented an extending strike. The moderating influence in Calcutta was that of non-co-operators. The latter will not hesitate to advance the cause of strikers where they have a just grievance. They have ever refused

[1] Home Member in the Viceroy's Executive Council

to lend their assistance to unjust strikes. "Where there is a racial ill-feeling", declares Sir William Vincent, "these emissaries hurry on their evil errand." He must know that this is a false statement. There is a racial feeling between Englishmen and Indians. There is the memory of Jallianwala—an evergreen. But "these emissaries" have been veritable messengers of peace. They have everywhere restrained the fury of the unthinking. And I make bold to say that but for the existence of the spirit of non-violence, there would have been more innocent blood spilt in spite of the threat of Dyerism and O'Dwyerism. Our fault has lain in refusing to lick the boot that has kicked, in withdrawing co-operation until there was frank repentance. Non-co-operators are to be blessed for turning the fury of an outraged people from Englishmen to the system they are called upon to administer.

But Sir William is nothing if he is not thorough in his attempt to divide and rule. He declaims: "Where there are quarrels between landlord and tenant, have we not seen this in the United Provinces—there again proceed these emissaries of evil to propagate unrest, and stir up disorder." Sir William should know that the tenant movement is under the control of Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru whose one purpose regarding the tenants has been to educate them to be patient and calm. Sir William has simply attempted to set the landlords against the non-co-operation movement. Fortunately the landlords know as well as the tenants that, so long as they are just, they have nothing to fear from non-co-operators.

The movement, says Sir William, "is purely destructive, and so far as I have been able to ascertain contains no element of constructive ability". It is undoubtedly destructive in the sense that a surgeon who applies the knife to a diseased part may be said to make a destructive movement. This destructive movement bears in it the surest seed of construction as the surgeon's knife contains the seed of health. Is temperance destructive? Are national schools springing up everywhere destructive? Are the thousands of spinning-wheels destructive of a nation's prosperity? They will destroy foreign domination whether it hails from Lancashire or is threatened from Japan.

Having attempted to set classes against masses, Sir William proceeds to paralyze both with the feeling of helplessness and the fear of internal strife and aggression from without. Is Hindu-Muslim unity such flimsy stuff that we shall begin to quarrel as soon as the British guns are withdrawn from our shores? Were we sixty years ago less able to protect ourselves than we are now?

Or is it not a fact that, judged by the Western standard, we were never so helpless as we now are? Self-government, as I have said before, connotes the power of self-protection, and a country which cannot protect itself is not prepared for immediate and complete self-government. In this one sentence Sir William has unwittingly condemned British rule and proved the necessity of immediate mending or ending of that rule. According to my method—the method of suffering or soul-force, — the country is today prepared for self-protection. According to Sir William's standard, the reforms have nothing in them to enable India even in a hundred years to arm herself for defence against a combination of world powers. Judged by that standard, the reforms do forge stronger the chains that bind India and make her feel helpless. The speaker talks glibly of impending destruction of every vested interest. He needs to be reminded that the greatest vested interest of India—her self-sufficiency—was destroyed by this foreign domination and the speaker's plan will still further deepen India's poverty.

Even as Sir William has misrepresented non-co-operators' motives, so has he misconstrued their methods. We have not failed in our effort regarding the educated classes. I admit that the response in practice might have been greater from them. But I make bold to say that the vast majority of them are with us in spirit, though the flesh being weak, they are not able to make what from their point of view is a sacrifice. We have been trying to act on the masses from the commencement. We regard them as our mainstay, for it is they who have to attain swaraj. It is neither the sole concern of the monied men nor that of the educated class. Both must subserve their interest in any scheme of swaraj, and as soon as the masses have attained sufficient self-control and learnt mass discipline, we shall not hesitate, if necessary, to advise them to suspend payment of taxes to a Government that has never truly looked after their welfare and that has exploited and terrorized them every time they have shown the least symptom of rising against their exploitation.

Sir William has been extremely disingenuous in describing the Government's methods of dealing with non-co-operation. Defence of India Act, he will not use against men who have hurt nobody and who are restraining people from committing violence. But he is using ordinary statutes against them in an extraordinary manner under a licence given to him by non-co-operators who will not challenge orders in a court of law. He will not conciliate the malcontents by granting swaraj, for that would

lead to anarchy. He does not bother his head about the two things which have caused all the unrest and which have acted like two active and corroding poisons in the Indian body—the Khilafat[1] and the Punjab wrongs[2]. He does not tell us what catastrophe is likely to befall India if the Khilafat promises were redeemed and the Punjab wound healed.

He has ornamented his extraordinary speech with an ungentlemanly and insinuating attack upon the Ali Brothers who are putting up a noble fight for Islam and India, and a still more ungentlemanly attack on a 'gentleman of the name of Yakub Hasan', and an ungracious reference to his Turkish wife.

As I have said it was painful for me to read the speech, still more painful to have to criticize it. I assure the reader that, self-restrained as I am in language, the speech has been a severe strain upon my capacity for restraint. I have scored out many an adjective which I believe would accurately describe Sir William's performance. I am sorry.

Young India, 20-4-1921

12. COMMENT ON A PROTEST[3]

I am glad of Mr. Varma's energetic protest. And I hope that the lawyers of Jubbulpore are leading the non-co-operation movement. I must however adhere to my statement that the lawyers were

[1] This was regarding the movement for the reversal of British policy, at the end of World War I, involving the dismemberment of Turkey and affecting the religious status of the Khalifa. The Congress had taken up the issue, as it gravely exercised the minds of Indian Muslims.

[2] The official acts of violence and repression in the Punjab under the Martial Law regime in April 1919, culminating in the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, had roused countrywide indignation. Gandhiji held that with regard to the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs, injustice was being sustained by untruth and insolence. They were to become major issues in the non-co-operation movement.

[3] This was published along with the following letter dated April 10, 1921 from G. C. Varma: "The other day when you left Jubbulpore for Cuttack you had an interview with Gunada Babu at Calcutta. I have seen that interview in the *Independent* of the 2nd instant, which appears to have borrowed it from the *Servant*. I refer you to a statement in that article attributed to you. It runs thus: 'At Jubbulpore, from where he (Mahatma Gandhi) was coming, two young men (sons of rich merchants) were leading the movement very successfully against a whole host of lawyers. Being business men, they were carrying on the work of organiztion most effectively.'

"This statement is incorrect. The facts are: 'These young men are not merchants. They are foundation stones of the British Government in India.

conspicuous by their absence on the day I visited Jubbulpore, and that the two young men referred to by me, were in charge of the whole management. That they are sons of land-holders is true enough. Theirs to-day is co-operation of necessity. The Congress has not yet called upon land-holders to surrender their lands to the Government nor is it ever likely to. These young men, like some land-holders' sons elsewhere, are taking an honourable part in the national uplift and they deserve every encouragement from lawyers. There are no two opinions about the fact that intellect rather than riches will lead. It might equally be admitted by the correspondent that the heart rather than the intellect will eventually lead. Character, not brains, will count at the crucial moment. And I fancied that these young men showed character. I should be sorry to find otherwise.

Young India, 20-4-1921

They are Malguzars. Their trade is to realize Rs. 100 from the poor tenants, give the Government Rs. 55 and keep Rs. 45 with themselves as commission, and guarantee to recover the money even in the worst times. What a non-co-operation with the Government!' If these Malguzars are not co-operators, no one else is a co-operator. The Malguzari system was an invention of Todermal by which means people could be systematically dominated by the rulers through their mercenaries. These mercenaries are the Malguzars, who you have said are leading the movement. If a lawyer who has not suspended his practice is not a proper person to be an office-bearer, certainly a Malguzar too should not be an office-bearer. A Malguzar is more attached to the Government than a lawyer. In Jubbulpore these young men, Malguzars, are not leading the movement. The movement in Jubbulpore is being led by the lawyers and the whole host of them are supporting it.

"You did not give sufficient time to Jubbulpore, else the members of the Bar would have gladly seen you and discussed the matter with you. I fully believe that it will never be wealth which will lead the movement. It will always be the intellect and I hope you will correct the wrong impression created by the interview. I suspended my practice in November last."

13. SPEECH AT MEETING IN SURAT

April 20, 1921

Mahatmaji addressed a crowded meeting in the evening attended by 15 to 20 thousand people, on the Tilak Ground. He congratulated the citizens of Surat on the excellent order and management for that day's meeting and said he was glad to see that he had not to repeat his previous remarks about the want of management. He was pleased to hear of the splendid work done by Surat and the District.

That district, city, or village which completely discharged its duties can be said to have obtained swarajya. We want swarajya in which all men—even *Bhangis*—have got equal rights. When you find that you are prepared to help the weak, the miserable and the needy, you must conclude that swarajya is approaching nearer. Again swarajya is possible because Hindus and Mohammedans are united. A handful of Europeans are ruling over us because of our weakness. Our very ideas must undergo a great transformation and we must begin to realize that self-government is our birthright. Even Englishmen admit that their Empire in India is based on our weakness. Sir R. Craddock once remarked that Englishmen would rule over India only as long as the people of India would allow them to do so.

Proceeding further, he said that lawyers who had suspended their practice, students who had left Government schools must set a good example for others to follow. Their character should attract others towards them. He admired the illustrious examples set by Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mr. C. R. Das. What was wanted for India was ten thousand true soldiers prepared to fight out the battle of independence.

Speaking of the decorations in the city, he said he was pleased with them, but one thing that pained him most was the use of foreign cloth in their decorations. Khaddar ought to have been used in its place.

Turning to the recommendations of the Congress Committee, he asked whether it was difficult to collect one crore of rupees when seventeen crores of rupees were wasted every year after liquor.

As for the spinning-wheel, he said it was the symbol of swarajya. Economically it was the best weapon. Every person could honestly earn two rupees per day by spinning and weaving. He, therefore, advised introduction of spinning-wheels in all families. Proceeding further, he asked the volunteers to carry on their temperance movement and thus make the country free from the

vice of drinking. He concluded by requesting the audience to contribute their quota to the Tilak Swarajya Fund.

The Bombay Chronicle, 23-4-1921

14. SPEECH AT MEETING IN BULSAR

April 20, 1921

What has been said by this Parsi friend[1] in his sweet Gujarati is worth bearing in mind. Hindu-Muslim unity means simply this, that each and every community in the country, small or big, will be able to follow its own religion and live in freedom. In this unity lies the strength of 30 crores of the human race. If Hindu-Muslim unity meant the kind of thing which happened in Europe, that the big nations swallowed the smaller ones under the pretence of defending them, I would not thus, at the age of 52, run from place to place. I want neither kingdom nor wealth. I have enjoyed things to my fill. My conscience tells me that my movement is such that even the smallest community in the country can live without fear. It will not be possible to harass anyone—Parsis, Sikhs, Jews or Christians—and no evil glance can be cast even on a defenceless woman—this is the meaning of swaraj. Such swaraj will not be a gift from anyone. It will not fall from above, nor will it be thrown up from below; we have to establish it. The Parsi friends have a right to take time [to decide]. Let them by all means watch what the two communities do; but I am convinced that there is no danger for them. That is why I have invited them to make an offering in this *yajna*[2] for swaraj.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 5-5-1921

[1] Speaking on behalf of the Parsi community, he had remarked: "In this fight for independence, the Parsis are with the Hindus and Muslims. But the Parsis hesitate a little to join it, doubting whether the interests of the community will be safeguarded under swaraj."

[2] Sacrifice

15. SPEECH AT MEETING IN SISODRA

April 21, 1921

Today you have sanctified yourselves by giving room in your midst to your own brothers [the *Antyajas*], but maintain that sanctity for ever. Do not do this in order that you may have my services or that you may please me, thinking it imprudent to kick a milch cow; do it as a matter of duty. Whatever service I render, I do merely as my dharma. I want no return from you for that service. Dharma has no concern with reward; it is concerned with God. I do not want a salary from the people. God will give me my salary and reward. Hinduism in fact teaches us that, whatever a man does, he must offer it up to God, and only then will it bear fruit. If, therefore, you have done this holy thing today, coming into contact with the *Antyajas*, as a return for my services, it will benefit neither you nor me, but it will be a credit to you only if you have done it because you believe in it.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 5-5-1921

16. SPEECH AT MEETING IN NAVSARI

April 21, 1921

SISTERS AND BROTHERS,

This is not my first visit to Navsari. I came here for a day in the course of my wanderings in 1915. But times have changed. There is a big difference between then and now. Today, we are in a new era. God alone knows what this era will bring and how we shall be tested before the world. We may plan as we choose, but it is in God's hands to fulfil our plans. Man proposes and God disposes.

Misled by the apparent enthusiasm of the people and by the vows they have taken, a man like me may hope that swaraj will be established, the rule of dharma will prevail within one year; but who knows whether the thing we may establish will turn out to be God's rule or Satan's rule? Who knows now whether our swaraj will be the rule of Satan or *Ramarajya*? My conscience at any rate affirms that we are moving in the direction of dharma. Judging from the progress made, we find that, if we maintain the

speed with which we have worked during the last five or six months, we shall certainly succeed in establishing the rule of dharma within the remaining six months.

I am aware that just now I am not in British territory. I am speaking in the territory of Maharaja Gaekwar. My remarks, however, will be of a general nature. My work is meant equally for British India and Indian States. It is certainly desirable that a religious spirit be infused [into the people] in both these territories and any evils among them removed.

But I know that the criticisms which I find necessary to make in British India and the advice I offer to the people there may not be relevant here. I shall, therefore, confine myself to a few general observations.

My especial object in coming to Navsari was to meet my Parsi sisters and brothers in this centre of the Parsis and say a few words to them. Navsari is a big Parsi centre. Bombay too is such a centre, but it cannot be said to be theirs exclusively. Bombay is what in English is called a "cosmopolitan city". Bombay is like Jagannathpuri[1], though it can be called that only if it is holy and I am not prepared to consider Bombay to be such. So the real home of the Parsis is Navsari.

This is the birth-place of the late Dadabhai Naoroji[2]. I visited his house. For me, it is a place of pilgrimage. But even apart from my relations with him, how close my association with Parsi men and women is I have shown to some extent in my open letter to the Parsis.[3] Even in that letter, I have not given all my happy memories. There was no space for them in it. My memories about them are so happy and my association with them has been so close that I feel under a debt to them. I wrote that letter to repay my debt. I cannot forget the love which the Parsis have showered on me in India, in England, in South Africa, in Zanzibar and in Aden. I can certainly say this about myself, that I am not ungrateful. I can appreciate the value of a good turn and that is why it will pain me if the Parsis remain aloof or even neutral in the great movement that is now going on.

I have love for the Parsis and respect for their abilities; I know from experience how intelligent and efficient they are. From all this, I believe that they cannot remain aloof from this move-

[1] Puri, a place of pilgrimage in Orissa

[2] 1825-1917; pioneer Indian statesman, often called "the Grand Old Man of India"; President of the Indian National Congress in 1886, 1893 and 1906

[3] *Vide* Vol. XIX, pp. 469-71.

ment. It will certainly pain me if they do so or refuse to join non-co-operation.

The Parsis have a gift for business. They are second to none in business competition with anyone in the world. The community has a very enterprising spirit. Because of it, the fame of your community of eighty or a hundred thousand has spread all over the world. Wherever you have gone, you have shown your wonderful intelligence and ability. No one can equal the Parsis in generosity. No community has donated as much for philanthropic purposes as the Parsis have done. Andrew Lang has calculated figures of charities done by all the communities in the world and shown that, relatively to their population, Parsi charities exceed all others. The Hindus have given much, but the community is like an ocean and, for a community of such size, its charities are but a drop in it. The Muslims, too, have given donations and the gifts made by the Christians are also well known; however, if any comparison is possible, it is with the charities made by the Jews, and even these the Parsis surpass. The Parsi charities, besides, are meant for all. If such a community puts its ability to good use, it is bound to benefit the world.

But they have a special bond with India. India gave them shelter at a critical time. To be sure, she has lost nothing thereby. By accepting them, the Hindus and India as a whole have only gained. The Parsis, too, have gained. They can take pride in India, in calling themselves Indians. Coming over here, the Parsis have both taken and given. I have entertained great hopes of them. I am sure that, thanks to their generosity, they will make no small contribution to the tasks of this new era. I do not ask for a contribution by way of monetary or intellectual help alone. That contribution they will certainly make; what I want from them is a contribution by way of sincere feelings of the heart—in terms of religious feeling. Call to mind the commandments of the Prophet in whom you believe. I have read your scriptures in Gujarati and English, as many as I could get. I felt that I was reading the Vedas or the *Upanishads* or the *Gita*. Some Parsis have compared the sayings of Zarathustra with the *Upanishads*. There is great similarity between the injunctions of Zarathustra and those of other religions. I am sure, therefore, that the Parsis will make their contribution in terms of religious feeling.

The world is sustained not by the intellect but by the heart. Not intellect but the *atman*[1] will rule it, that is, virtuous conduct

[1] 'Self

will rule. I do not mean to say that there are no people of virtuous conduct at the present time. I rather use the term "virtuous conduct" in a special sense. "Virtuous conduct" means living according to dharma.

Iran is an oriental country. A conflict is going on at present between the East and the West. A whirlwind from the West has overwhelmed us. Either we shall be swept away in it or we may resist it firmly and turn it back. The name of that whirlwind is "materialism" or the "ism" which looks upon money as its God. If we do not resist it but are lured into aping its ways, we shall become materialists, shall look upon money as our God and so perish.

After giving you this praise, I think it is my duty to utter a few words of caution. It is not impossible that, fascinated by English education, your community will be swept off its feet by this Western wind. The Parsis' mother tongue is Gujarati. Most of them live in Gujarat; the Parsis are thus certainly Gujaratis. And yet, as a Parsi sister wrote to me a few days ago, her Parsi brothers take pride in saying that they do not know Gujarati, that they have forgotten it. Not only that, they waste a good deal of time in scrupulously following English ways. Some Parsi ladies [she said] who helped her much in this work felt ashamed of her for writing to them in Gujarati and told her that they could not write in Gujarati. This shows the unhappy condition of the community.

The English language is the craze of the day. I bear it no ill-will. But it is one thing to learn that language and quite another to make it one's mother tongue. English has no place here except as a language of administration and of business. If, nevertheless, the Parsis make it their mother tongue, it will be their and the country's misfortune. If you embrace it, you will only end up as slaves of the West and forget the wonderful teachings of your ancient prophet.

The nations of Europe are called Christian but they have forgotten the teachings of Christ. They may read the Bible or study the Hebrew language, but they do not act according to the teachings of the former. This wind blowing from the West is opposed to the teachings of Jesus. They have forgotten Jesus himself.

This is my message to my Parsi brethren. If the Parsis present here are not many, it is my request to those who have come that they should convey my message tomorrow to each and every home. You need not feel anxious because you are only a handful. Numbers are of no consequence. Virtue lies not in

numbers but in behaving as men, in heroism, in courage. If there should be fifty thousand counterfeit coins, they would be worthless; the value of one genuine coin will be greater than that of any number of counterfeit ones. If, therefore, the Parsis are genuine coins, they can give a good account of themselves to the world. I hope they will prove themselves genuine coins.

If you let yourselves be carried away by the wind from the West, if you hanker after pleasures and luxuries, lose yourselves in slothful ease and become worshippers of Mammon, you will forget the divinity in you; and, if you forget the teachings of Zarathustra, you will lose that treasure for which you have become famous, will exchange a pearl for a pebble.

There have been many multi-millionaires among the Parsis. Though they had earned such immense wealth, they did not give up simplicity, ever kept their hearts clean and never forgot God. But I feel some doubts about the Parsi sisters and brothers of the modern age. I fear lest, bewitched by the lure of the West, they lose their ancient heritage.

I have said more than enough to you. If you are so inclined, you may not at present join in the whole programme of non-co-operation, but in regard to one matter, I pray for your help specially. You will have laid us under a great obligation if you give up all idea of earning money through liquor-booths. It is not Parsis alone who run these booths. Hindus also do so, Anavil Brahmins among them, and Muslims too are engaged in that business. In the Punjab, there are distilleries in the hands of the Sikhs, followers of the brave Guru Govind Singh. I have been appealing to all of them. As the Parsis, however, are a small community, the thing will be easy for them. There are liquor-shops in the hands of Parsis all over India. The first task under swaraj will be to see that there are no liquor-booths and no big distilleries in the country. There may be small distilleries at some places to produce alcohol for medicinal purposes. But this alcohol will be treated like opium and arsenic. The latter are difficult to procure, though available at a chemist's shop. In the same way, liquor also should be difficult to procure.

I ask Parsis' help in the great movement for swadeshi. You will be glad to learn that a Parsi sister has placed an order for 40 saris of pure swadeshi. Superfine saris of hand-spun yarn can be produced in Madras. If the Parsi sisters would indulge their tastes, saris to suit their purses can be produced in Bezwada.

Some sisters have indeed adopted swadeshi but, as you know, I am a greedy man, a miser. So I cannot be happy as long as the

whole of this little community does not shine with lustre. You see beauty in silk clothes, but you will be able truly to adorn yourselves and India only by wearing khadi. Many Hindus still do not wear khadi, nor do Muslims. But you should not follow others' example. If other people take to wrong ways, we need not do likewise. Your community can set an example to crores of Hindus and Muslims. When I visited a handloom factory in Surat, I was glad to find a Parsi brother doing a bit for swadeshi. But I am not a man who will be satisfied with that little. Introduce a spinning-wheel in every one of your homes. You Parsi sisters can spin very fine yarn. You spin fine woollen yarn for your sacred thread. Dedicate this gift of yours to the country.[1]

This is the only country you have. Outside of it, you do not have an inch of ground which you can call yours. In fact, it is stated in our Shastras that there is no land other than Bharatavarsha in which Hindus may live and attain *moksha*[2]. This is the only land for you in which you can cultivate virtues and display those you have. Make India illustrious, make it a land of heroes.

What shall I say about the Hindus' contribution to the history of the world? We have had a glorious past; if, however, we fight merely on the strength of our ancient heritage, we shall lose the battle. We should show ourselves as great as our forefathers. Our sages let their bodies be cut into pieces in order to preserve their dharma. Todd[3] tells us that, whereas in Europe there was but one Thermopylae, in India we find every street and lane to have been a Thermopylae. I shall not go into history to tell you what great heroes India has produced. I shall only say this: Let us place our hands on our hearts and ask ourselves whether we have that heroism in us today.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 5-5-1921

[1] The remarks which followed were addressed to the Hindus in the audience and were reported separately in the account of Gandhiji's tour published in the same issue of *Navajivan*.

[2] Deliverance from phenomenal existance as the supreme end of life

[3] Author of *Annals of Rajasthan*

17. SPEECHES IN SURAT DISTRICT[1]

April 22, 1921

The burden of his message at various places was about four main points: collection of one crore of rupees by the 30th June, one crore signatories to the Congress creed, and running of 20 lakhs of spinning-wheels, and the curse of untouchability to be removed at the earliest possible stage. India's fitness for swaraj was to be measured by its success in achieving these things. And if they are achieved to-day, the swaraj was there to come to-morrow. . . .

Mahatmaji's further advice here was now to leave alone the pleaders unable to suspend their practice and the students refusing to give up Government schools. These pleaders and these students have already suffered in their prestige, as the Government have. The non-co-operators are now to show by their conduct the work they are about and win over the hesitating and the opponents. If, he said, only the district of Surat or even a single village were to concentrate its energies on the sole object of winning swaraj for itself without waiting for other provinces and other people, there was nothing in the world to prevent them from doing so; and again that should be the spirit with which the present programme has to be carried out. If one district or province obtains swaraj, the whole of the rest of India also would do it to-morrow. Swaraj was, further, said to be a natural thing, not an artificial thing to be imported ready-made from England or a thing which could be given by anybody, either by Mahatma Gandhi himself or Mahomed Ali[2] or Shaukat Ali. As to these Ali Brothers, he said they have already won and established swaraj for themselves. What is wanted is not Gandhi Raj or Mahomed Ali Raj or Shaukat Ali Raj, but a swaraj, a Ramaraj, in which the meanest member of the depressed class and the weakest woman of the country are to have equal independence and protection.

The Bombay Chronicle, 26-4-1921

[1] Gandhiji visited the principal taluka town and important villages in Surat District between April 19 and 22 and addressed a number of meetings. This is the gist of his speeches.

[2] 1871-1931; orator, journalist and politician; led the Khilafat Delegation to England in 1920; President of the Congress 1923

18. SOME DOUBTS

My letter about the Parsis has led to quite a lot of controversy. Mr. G. K. Nariman has written an open letter which has appeared in other papers. Those who have been taking interest in the discussion must have read it and hence I do not publish it in *Navajivan.* The views expressed by Mr. Nariman deserve respectful consideration and the doubts raised in his letter probably occur to other Parsis too. Hence, I shall try to answer them.

Mr. Nariman has given the following reasons for the Parsis not joining non-co-operation.

1. We cannot do without the services of Englishmen for several years more.
2. I should try to get many more Hindus to join the movement before wanting Parsis to do so.
3. To hope to win swaraj through the spinning-wheel is like running after a mirage.
4. When men like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Shastriar[1], and Sir Dinshaw Wachha[2] oppose the non-co-operation movement, what can the ordinary Parsi do?
5. Either I do not understand the Khilafat agitation or I am trying to cover up the irreconcilable conflict between Hinduism and Islam.
6. There is an element of exaggeration in my views about the Punjab. Take, for instance, Lala Harkishan Lal's case.
7. The doctrine of non-violence which I preach is ridiculous, it is acceptable only to Jains and those who follow it can only commit suicide. Besides, my movement does involve violence in the form of strikes, etc.
8. Stopping consumption of liquor is all right, but efforts must be made first to wean the people from opium, etc. The more important thing, however, is prevention of cow-slaughter. What contribution have I made to this?

Reply to First Doubt

Our degradation consists in this very idea that we cannot do without Englishmen for some time yet to come, and swaraj lies

[1] V. S. Srinivasa Sastri (1869-1946); educationist and orator; President, Servants of India Society, 1915-27; member, Viceroy's Legislative Council and Council of State; Agent-General of the Government of India in South Africa

[2] Dinshaw Edulji Wachha; prominent Indian politician; President of the Indian National Congress, 1901; *vide* Vol. II, p. 380.

in getting rid of it. In what sense were we in a miserable state before the coming of the British? To think, besides, that the moment they leave we shall fight among ourselves is a humiliating idea. Suppose, however, that the fear is justified; we still ought to free ourselves from British tutelage even at the risk of civil war.

Reply to Second Doubt

The statement that I should first induce many more Hindus to join the movement before expecting the Parsis to do so bespeaks our weakness. Both Parsis and Hindus are Indians. The thoughtful among both these communities owe the same duty to India. Moreover, many Hindus have already joined the movement and efforts to persuade others to join it are certainly continuing. Parsis should join the movement even if not a single Hindu were to join it or if they themselves should be convinced of its need, before others are. A person who is himself convinced should not wait for others [to join].

Reply to Third Doubt

I admit that anyone who thinks that to hope for swaraj through the spinning-wheel is to run after a mirage can never approve of the non-co-operation movement. Gradually, India has begun to understand the truth and it is my faith that it will understand it better still. I certainly do not think that it is running after a mirage to believe that we shall be prosperous only if we return to the dharma which we have forsaken and by forsaking which we have been impoverished. It is being daily confirmed by experience that the spinning-wheel is our natural dharma. I consider it no sin to go back to the condition which existed two hundred or even two thousand years ago. It is evidence of our having exercised our judgment if we adopt again the wholesome practices which we may have given up either through ignorance or under compulsion or through sheer passage of time.

Reply to Fourth Doubt

It is indeed sad that Panditji and other big leaders have not joined this movement. When, however, leaders differ among themselves, the people must make their choice. If they believe that nothing should be done until all are of the same view, they can never make progress. Under swaraj, everyone will have to make a choice.

Reply to Fifth Doubt

It is possible that I may not understand the Khilafat issue, though I have certainly studied it to the best of my ability. I do

not believe that there is an irreconcilable conflict between Islam and Hinduism. If there is, it means that Hindus and Muslims must remain enemies for ever. I do not believe that it is right for any two groups of human beings to remain mutually hostile for ever. I do not know of any rule to the effect that the Khalifa should wage war for the sake of religion at least once in ten years. I do not know that any religious war has taken place after the Crusades. I have seen nothing in Africa to suggest to me that the Muslims should have no control over Jazirat-ul-Arab[1].

Reply to Sixth Doubt

I know that there is no exaggeration in my views about the Punjab. If Lala Harkishan Lal himself has gone over to the Government, I have an added reason for non-co-operation. If such a person as even Lala Harkishan Lal feels so little hurt by the humiliation of the Punjab, it seems necessary that we should offer non-co-operation to compensate for this.

Reply to Seventh Doubt

The doctrine of non-violence which I preach may possibly seem ridiculous. It represents Hinduism. In its practice, in greater or smaller measure, lies the vitality of all religions. There is religion only to the extent that there is compassion. There can be no limit to compassion and it is not for me to lay down any. Everyone fixes a limit for himself. In *Vaishnavism*, non-violence reigns supreme. I concede that the idea is elaborated with special emphasis in Jain works, but neither the Jain nor any other doctrine has a monopoly of non-violence. It is a universal, immutable law. To describe the rules about fasting, etc., found in Jain philosophy as tending to suicide is, to my mind, not to understand that philosophy. But there is certainly no need to discuss here the extreme implications of non-violence. Even if non-violence in such form is not accepted, it cannot be gainsaid that our duty in the present circumstances is to fight peacefully—through voluntary suffering.

That Mr. Nariman has ridiculed the extreme implications of non-violence and, at the same time, characterized my activity as conducive to violence shows that he has not understood the principle of non-violence. He seems to suggest that the preaching of non-co-operation spreads hatred and that the loss which people suffer through strikes is a form of violence. The essential point of non-violence is to bear no hatred towards the man who has perpetra-

[1] Literally, "the island of Arabia" which, as defined by Muslim religious authorities, includes Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia

ted violence, though we know what he has done. I cannot purge the people of the violence in their hearts by hiding from them the Punjab outrages or the Khilafat wrong. My duty is, while telling them of the massacre, to teach them to be peaceful. The suffering which strikes cause to some is not violence. One is not responsible for the suffering one may cause to others while doing one's duty. If people stop going to an opium shop and in consequence the owner thereof sustains loss, I am not to blame. He, too, benefits through the suffering caused to him. Non-co-operation means refusal both to help the sinner in his sin and to accept any help or gift from him till he has repented.

Reply to Eighth Doubt

Mr. Nariman seems to believe that no propaganda is being done against the use of opium, etc. A movement is being carried on to make the people give up all addictions. Since people feel tempted to visit liquor shops, picketing of these is justified. And as some Parsi friends are engaged in the liquor trade, I appeal to them to give it up. I have also been appealing to those who sell opium. But I would argue that, if they can do so, people should give up drinking, irrespective of whether or not those addicted to opium give up their addiction.

Mr. Nariman has raised a number of issues. It is my prayer to him that, although he may oppose me over the Khilafat, the Punjab and other issues, if he finds, on independent reflection, that the consumption of liquor deserves to be stopped, he should urge Parsis to help in bringing this about. In this struggle for self-purification, even if everyone helps in that item of the programme which appeals to him, people will benefit to that extent.

I have been trying to stop the consumption of liquor; what am I doing in respect of cow-slaughter and how much time have I given to it? This is Mr. Nariman's last shot. It has touched me to the quick. How can Mr. Nariman imagine what deep pain is caused by cow-slaughter to an orthodox Hindu like myself? While the slaughter of cows continues, I feel that I am myself being slaughtered. I make ceaseless efforts to rescue the cow. If I have at present staked my life to save Islam, it is in order to save the cow. I do not wish to bargain with the Muslims and so I do not raise the issue of cow-slaughter. My prayer is addressed to God. He alone knows my heart. He sees to it that generosity is rewarded with generosity. I am sure that I am saving the cow by offering my life for the sake of the Khilafat, since, as I believe, by saving Islam I shall certainly have succeeded in saving the cow. Unless

I win the love of the Muslims, I cannot save the cow from the British. I request Mr. Nariman to take my word that my whole effort is directed towards the stopping of cow-slaughter. Anyone who is not ready to sacrifice his life to save the cow is not a Hindu. So long as the Hindus, the Muslims and the Christians do not work sincerely together to defend India, the Hindus will remain Hindus only in name. But the path of non-violence which I follow tells me that I should not kill Muslims or Christians to save the cow, that on the contrary I should lay down my life to save her. Only the purest sacrifice is acceptable to God. I have been striving and requesting other Hindus, as also all the other children of India, to join me in this self-purification. Mr. Nariman is also hurt by cow-slaughter. I invite him to join in this *yagna* of self-purification.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 24-4-1921

19. EXPERIENCES IN GUJARAT

I have been having so many experiences that I do not have time enough to set them all down and have to omit a good many of them. The workers, being eager to get the utmost out of me during the short time [I am with them], allow me no solitude or quiet for writing. There is no limit to their greed. I, too, am over-eager to render service. I want to do as much as possible, explain things as much as I can; hence I am not able to place all my experiences before the reader.

Till the time of writing, I have visited Anand, Ras, Borsad, Halol, Kalol, Vejalpur, Godhra, Surat, Olpad and Rander. There is no end to the enthusiasm of the people everywhere. At every place, the meetings were attended by large numbers of men and women. I saw increased spinning-wheel activity in all the places. In almost every town or village, people contributed to the Tilak Swaraj Fund.

A Widow's Gift

A widow in Anand gave away a bar of gold, weighing about 25 *tolas*, which she had with her. This, from a widow, is a gift indeed. I asked the lady her name. She refused to give it. What need to give one's name and address for money donated for a holy cause? I did not have the courage to ask any more questions.

A Conditional Donation

According to her wont, Mrs. Kothawala attended the meeting at Godhra. She told me that she liked all my activities except non-co-operation and asked me to give a chance to Lord Reading.

I said: "I certainly desire to give a chance to everyone. Lord Reading has only to do justice to get co-operation. Persuade him yourself that he should repent, apologize to the country for the crimes committed and do justice. No dispute will remain then."

"Tell me that you will give him a chance. Will you write to him and tell him that you will withdraw non-co-operation if he does justice?"

I said: "I shall certainly do so when an opportunity offers itself. But Lord Reading knows as much."

On this condition, this good lady gave me Rs. 50. If only, on that condition, all women give as much, I think a crore of rupees will be collected immediately.

Orderliness

I have been noticing increasing orderliness at all places, but I found it most in Surat. Wherever we went, we found that the programme could be carried out with the least noise and hustle, as the people had been instructed beforehand. The people having been told in advance, contributions were also collected [before the meeting started]. Women in Surat donated even their diamond rings.

Experience at Rander

While the Surat Municipality gave me an address of welcome, I came to know that the Rander Municipality had not agreed to give one. All the same, Hindu and Muslim youths took courage and presented addresses, one on behalf of the citizens and another on behalf of the Khilafat [Committee]. The streets, too, were decorated. Still, I could see that the leaders there had kept away. They showed only as much interest as one would expect children to do. I tried hard, but in such an atmosphere I could collect very little at Rander. One Muslim friend put a five-rupee note into my hand, and a lady gave me five rupees, promised to ply the spinning-wheel for two hours daily and not to wear foreign cloth thenceforth. I have not had a more insipid experience during my entire tour than at Rander.

I would advise the young men of Rander not to feel dispirited. They should give up trying to get people to give welcome addresses, but should certainly work hard to collect funds. Good, hardworking

and modest young men can do a lot. They will get contributions from the middle classes. Sceptics will come to have faith. The most hopeful sign is the fact that young men, both Hindu and Muslim, are working hard unitedly and with perfect understanding.

Two Shortcomings

I observe that people still do not fully understand swadeshi or are not very particular about the matter. Foreign cloth and foreign paper still continue to be used for decorations. If we want to bring about boycott of foreign cloth this very year, we shall have to give thought to everything we do. We shall have to pay attention even to the smallest detail. Only if we discard foreign cloth as a matter of duty shall we be able to accomplish this great and yet easy task. And the thing should not be delayed either. For those who understand, even cloth produced in Indian mills is foreign cloth. We shall not always be able to tell the difference between foreign cloth and cloth produced by Indian mills. The latter should be for the poor, who have not received the message of swadeshi at all. True swadeshi is that alone in which all the processes through which cotton has to pass are carried out in the same village or town. The town in which this is done will prosper and win its freedom. In order to bring this about, people should be thoroughly vigilant in boycotting foreign cloth.

The second defect is that we still cannot overcome our weakness for offering flower garlands. I see no profit in this practice. A countless number of them are used, to no good purpose. At present we simply have no money to throw away in this manner. Garlands ought to be of yarn only. Yarn can be arranged in many artistic ways and made into garlands; it can be braided in many ways. It can be made into chain-like lengths. There is great love and thoughtfulness in offering a garland of even plain hanks of fine yarn spun by oneself. The person receiving a garland of yarn can make good use of it. A time is coming when, if garlands of yarn are handed over to the poor as gifts, they will have good use for them. No one has any use for garlands, and using flowers when not needed is so much of a waste.

Work, Work, Work

If we wish to win swaraj during this very year, we should busy ourselves entirely in work. Meetings, processions and things like that are all right to the extent they arouse the people. But, where people have already been aroused, we should merely go on

working silently. Every day, one should go round collecting money and persuading people to spin, should get new spinning-wheels made and introduce them into homes which are without them, see to the stocking of khadi, plead with those who may not have started using it to do so and induce enthusiastic persons to carry on work for stopping the consumption of liquor. In this way, everyone must engage himself in some work for swaraj and induce others to do likewise.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 24-4-1921

20. NOTES

"NAVAJIVAN'S" LANGUAGE

A Parsi sister, a Parsi brother and some others have sent me their criticism of *Navajivan's* language. A constant effort is being made to keep its language simple. I believe that it is not within the scope of *Navajivan's* efforts to improve the language or introduce difficult words into it; its effort is limited to propagating ideas in simplest language, such language as the largest number of people can understand. However, all contributors do not keep this aim in view. Everyone uses certain words peculiar to him. I also see that, in consequence, the language used in *Navajivan* is not always simple. I wish to assure these critics that there is no deliberate attempt to make the language difficult. The aim will always be to keep it simple. I thank the writers for their criticism. I shall certainly take care to see that fewer Sanskrit words are used. I know that a large number of Muslim and Parsi friends read *Navajivan*, as also a good many women who cannot understand difficult words. I consider it my duty to make *Navajivan* easy for them to read.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 24-4-1921

21. *LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS*

HYDERABAD (SIND),
April 25 [1921]

MY DEAREST CHARLIE[1],

I have your letter. I have replied to your query in *Young India*. If the reply lacks fullness, you will ask. I hold very strong views on the question. My recent experiences confirm me in my opinion.

As to chastity between husband and wife I do not carry on any propaganda. It is too sacred for preaching. But with me the thing is more than a pious wish. If I could find a way of stopping procreation in a civil and voluntary manner and whilst India remains in the present miserable state, I would do so today. But I know that it is impossible. At the same time I may tell you that the effect of that article was not inconsiderable. To my knowledge several young men are restraining themselves with profit both to themselves and their wives. It surprises me that you do not appreciate the obvious. But I must not argue. It is a fundamental truth to which you must come in time.

I do hope you are better.

Yours,
MOHAN

[PS.]

Did I tell you that Lalchand had not only proved dishonest, he had proved unscrupulous and impudent. His misappropriations are manifest. He sought to cover them with further lies.

From a photostat of the original in Gandhiji's hand: G.N. 965

[1] Charles Freer Andrews (1871-1940); English missionary, author, educationist, and close associate of Gandhiji

22. *MESSAGE TO "THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE"*[1]

Of Mr. Horniman, I can say that the more I knew him the more I loved him. Few Englishmen have served journalism and, through that gift, India, with such fearlessness and strength of conviction as Mr. Horniman, and this I am able to say, although I often disapproved of his strong language and invective of which he was a master.

M. K. GANDHI

The Bombay Chronicle, 26-4-1921

23. *NOTES*

SATYAGRAHA IN MULSHI

My heart goes out to these poor people.[2] I wish the great house of the Tatas, instead of standing on their legal rights, will reason with the people themselves, and do whatever they wish in consultation with them. I have some experience of Land Acquisition Acts. I had nearly eighty cases to deal with. Here the reason for the acquisition was not industrial development but insanitation. I know that the people dispossessed never got the exact equivalent. What is the value of all boons that the Tata scheme claims to confer upon India, if it is to be at the unwilling expense of even one poor man? I dare say the problem of disease and poverty can be easily solved, and the survivors will live in luxury if the three crore half-starved men and women, and lakhs of the decrepit humanity were shot and their bodies utilized for manure, or their bones utilized for making knife-handles. And yet no one but a lunatic will put up such a suggestion. Is the case any weaker when men and women are not to be shot, but compulsorily dispossessed of their valued lands about which sentiment, romance, and all that makes life worth living, have grown up? I suggest to the custodians of the great name that they would more truly advance India's interest if they will defer to the wishes of their weak and helpless

[1] The message was published on the second anniversary of the deportation on April 26, 1919 without trial of Benjamin Guy Horniman, editor of *The Bombay Chronicle*. *Vide* Vol. XV, pp. 252, 348-9, 383-4.

[2] The peasants of Mulshi village who had threatened to offer satyagraha if their grievances were not redressed; *vide* "Speech at Maharashtra Provincial Conference, Bassein", 7-5-1921.

countrymen. The duty of the satyagrahis is written in letters of gold. There can be no satyagraha in an unjust cause. Satyagraha in a just cause is vain, if the men espousing it are not determined and capable of fighting and suffering to the end; and the slightest use of violence often defeats a just cause. Satyagraha excludes the use of violence in any shape or form, whether in thought, speech, or deed. Given a just cause, capacity for endless suffering, and avoidance of violence, victory is a certainty.

Disappearing Untouchability

Of all the sweet experiences during my Gujarat tour, none was sweeter than the sympathetic manner in which the 'suppressed' were received by the other Hindus. Everywhere the audience has received my remarks on the matter without resentment. At Kalol there was to be a meeting of 'untouchables' to be addressed by me. I pleaded with the Mahajans that they should permit me to address them in the *pandal* erected for the general meeting. After some hesitation they agreed. I was to have gone to fetch these 'outcastes' from their quarters. Their abode was too far from the *pandal* to enable them to come. I, therefore, addressed them near the hospital. But I was glad to note that many orthodox Hindus, who accompanied me, freely mixed with the men and women who had flocked round me from the pariah quarters. But the height of satisfaction was reached when in Sisodra, a big village near Navsari, there were knowingly admitted to the place reserved for the elite of the village all the many *Dheds* who were standing at a distance from the great meeting which I was addressing. As they were admitted, not a man or woman moved or protested. Almost every one in the village was present at the meeting. People from surrounding villages, too, had attended. This deliberate and solemn admission of several hundred men and women of the untouchable class to the centre of a great gathering like the above is to me a sure sign of the pure religious character of the movement. Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel[1] in order to make assurance doubly sure asked those who approved of the step to raise their hands, and quite a forest of hands went up. The experiment was repeated in Bardoli before an equally large audience and with equally satisfactory results. Untouchability is surely disappearing, and with its disappearance the way to swaraj is becoming safe and easy.

[1] 1875-1950; President of the Indian National Congress, 1931; Deputy Prime Minister of India, 1947-50

A Mountain of Yarn-balls

Sisodra, which but a year ago had no hand-spinning, showed fifty maunds of hand-spun yarn beautifully piled up in a house. Hundreds of spinning-wheels are now working in this and the surrounding villages. The sight of women and children bringing to me presents of yarn is as usual now in Gujarat as in the Punjab. Indeed, the students of Gujarat can certainly give points to the Punjab in spinning. These students have learnt spinning in an incredibly short time and are now organizing villages for spinning work. Let the Punjabis beware. I should be sorry to find the Punjab beaten in the race. It has stubborn rivals in Andhra, Karnatak, and Gujarat. The sceptics should visit the centres where spinning is going on in an organized fashion, and they will discover economic laws which will falsify the teachings of the economics of the textbooks.

A Widow's Gift

Men and women have given freely of monies and ornaments. But a widow of Anand surprised us all by giving away a nugget of gold valued at Rs. 700. I asked her to give me her name. She refused saying the gold was given for God's service.

English Education

A friend asks me to give my considered view on the value of English education and explain my talk on the sands at Cuttack.[1] I have not read the report of the talk. But I gladly respond to the friend's wish. It is my considered opinion that English education in the manner it has been given has emasculated the English-educated Indians, it has put a severe strain upon the Indian students' nervous energy, and has made of us imitators. The process of displacing the vernacular has been one of the saddest chapters in the British connection. Ram Mohan Rai[2] would have been a greater reformer and Lokamanya Tilak[3] would have been a greater scholar, if they had not to start with the handicap of having to think in English and transmit their thoughts chiefly in English. Their effect on their own people, marvellous as it was, would have been greater if they had been brought up under a less unnatural system. No doubt they both gained from their knowledge of the

[1] *Vide* Vol. XIX, pp. 476-80.

[2] Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1774-1833); scholar, social reformer and founder of Brahmo Samaj; worked for the abolition of the practice of sati

[3] Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856-1920); patriot, political leader, scholar and author; one of the founders of the Deccan Education Society, Poona, and of the newspapers *Kesari* and *The Mahratta*. *Vide* also Vol. II, p. 380.

rich treasures of English literature. But these should have been accessible to them through their own vernaculars. No country can become a nation by producing a race of translators. Think of what would have happened to the English if they had not an authorized version of the Bible. I do believe that Chaitanya, Kabir, Nanak, Guru Govindsingh, Shivaji, and Pratap were greater men than Ram Mohan Rai and Tilak. I know that comparisons are odious. All are equally great in their own way. But judged by the results, the effect of Ram Mohan and Tilak on the masses is not so permanent or far-reaching as that of the others more fortunately born. Judged by the obstacles they had to surmount, they were giants, and both would have been greater in achieving results, if they had not been handicapped by the system under which they received their training. I refuse to believe that the Raja and the Lokamanya could not have thought the thoughts they did without a knowledge of the English language. Of all the superstitions that affect India, none is so great as that a knowledge of the English language is necessary for imbibing ideas of liberty and developing accuracy of thought. It should be remembered that there has been only one system of education before the country for the past fifty years, and only one medium of expression forced on the country. We have, therefore, no data before us as to what we would have been but for the education in the existing schools and colleges. This, however, we do know that India today is poorer than fifty years ago, less able to defend herself, and her children have less stamina. I need not be told that that is due to the defect in the system of Government. The system of education is its most defective part. It was conceived and born in error, for the English rulers honestly believed the indigenous system to be worse than useless. It has been nurtured in sin, for the tendency has been to dwarf the Indian body, mind, and soul.

Another Secret Treaty

"Murder will out." One wonders whether those who negotiated Secret Treaties during the late unholy war, ever realized that they would all eventually see the light of day. It is highly probable that they knew that they would be out, and that they, the authors, would have to bear the brunt of criticism. It is highly probable that they derived Jesuistical satisfaction from the fact that, at the time these treaties were negotiated, they could be kept secret and that they served the purpose for which they were intended. Such seems to be the treaty unearthed by *The Bombay Chronicle*, and said to have been entered into between the British Gov-

ernment and the Sheriff of Mecca. If it is true, it shows the depth to which the British ministers descended for the purpose of gaining their end. And now that the end is reached, they treat their own written word as so much waste paper. Is it any wonder that millions of Indians have lost faith in Great Britain and refuse to co-operate with her so long as she will not retrace her steps and purify herself of the corruption that is eating into her moral being?

Too Late!

A Parsi friend, who sends Rs. 10 for the Tilak Swaraj Fund, writing from Bombay says:

> Your appeal to the Parsis comes too late. The Government of Bombay has already pocketed this time in advance nearly 23 lakhs of rupees, fearing a movement from you. If the Parsis can be assured that no other community would get into their place and that you can eradicate the evil for all times then I assure hearty support from the enlightened Parsi community.

If the Government has taken the full annual charge in advance, those who close their shops for the purpose of advancing the cause of temperance must get a refund when better times come. The liquor dealers are obviously not non-co-operators. There is no reason why they should not apply to the Government for a refund. As for the assurance required by the friend, I can only say that no reform has yet been brought about on his conditions. His argument means that no one need be good unless all become good, whereas reformers set the example by standing alone. My appeal to the Parsis is to join this temperance movement whether the others do or not. As a matter of fact several among the non-Parsis have given up drink traffic.

A Wail from Mesopotamia

I often receive complaints of ill-treatment from Mesopotamia and from those who have returned from Mesopotamia. Every one of the correspondents has written about the inhuman treatment received by them. The latest letter was not received by me. Maulana Shaukat Ali, one of the recipients, has forwarded his copy to me. I can no longer withhold publication of such letters. The complainants are at least entitled to the relief that publicity of their grievance may bring them. A helpless India cannot do more for her exiles. The letter is signed by three persons. I purposely refrain from publishing their names in order to protect them against harm being done to them by their officers.

It will be noticed that the writers have written to those whose names they have read in papers. The writers complain of ill-treatment by the Arabs. I do not wonder. Helpless themselves, the Arabs vent their wrath against the Indian soldiers and clerks in the hope, I suppose, that they will not dare to offer for service in Mesopotamia. Let me hope that the publicity I am giving the letter will deter others from being allured thereto by tempting offers. In no case should a self-respecting Indian make of the misfortune of the brave Arabs a means of livelihood. I give the letter[1] word for word as received, omitting references to the corps after the names of victims.

Young India, 27-4-1921

24. *THE CURSE OF BETTING*

You will earn the gratitude and thanks of thousands of wives, both European and Indian, if you can succeed in putting a stop to betting at the races. My husband was an ideal husband—until he took to betting at the races. Wo are now in debt, and, although he draws a good salary and does not drink alcohol, we are hard up, and I am sure this is the experience of very many wives. I have often implored him on my bended knees not to go to the races but to no purpose. And does it not seem very hard that wives and children should suffer because their husbands cannot refrain from going to the races and losing money?

It is true that alcohol is ruining thousands, but betting at the races is certainly ruining tens of thousands.

By practically robbing the public, the W.I.T. Club can afford to pay its European employees handsome salaries. If you were only in the know, I am sure you would agree with me that hanky-panky tricks are carried on by the Turf Club, and thus the public are cheated and robbed of a lot of money. Do, for God's sake, try, and right matters. Things were certainly better when the book-makers were allowed to take bets on the race-course.

Sir, I am sure you are acquainted with a number of men on the new Councils, and, with their aid, I do hope you will succeed in putting a stop to betting at the races. If Government would take over and manage the totes, I am sure, things would be more fair and square. The public invariably lose, and those who win are the owners of horses and their trainers and jockeys; and is it not a scandalous shame that Government should connive at it, simply because some of their big officials are keenly interested in horse-racing?

[1] This is not reproduced here.

> I had better not offer my signature to this letter as my husband is in Government service; but I pray that you will interest yourself in what I have written and succeed in stopping betting at the races.

This letter has been travelling with me for some time. The reader will share my feelings that it is a pathetic letter. Anonymous letters are rarely valuable. But this one is certainly an exception, though the writer has chosen not to disclose her name.

I know nothing of horse-racing. I have ever looked upon it with horror for its associations. I know that many men have been ruined on the race course.

But I must confess I have not had the courage to write anything against it. Having seen even an Aga Khan, prelates, viceroys, and those that are considered the best in the land openly patronizing it and spending thousands upon it, I have felt it to be useless to write about it. As journalist and reformer, my function is to call public attention to these vices about which there is likelihood of public opinion being created. Much as I disapprove of vaccination, I deem it to be waste of effort to draw public attention to the evil. I must own that I had not the courage to bring the drink traffic in the campaign of purification. It has come unsought. The people have taken it up of their own accord.

The surest sign that non-co-operation is a movement of purification is that many abuses are being removed by the people without any guidance or preaching. And it is in such hope about betting that I have published the above letter.

I am aware that the writer would be satisfied merely with some modification. What is required is a total destruction of the pest. Betting at races is a part of the gambling mania. If only the people will non-co-operate, the evil will die a natural death. Thousands who attend the race course do so merely for fun. They attend either to see horses run breathlessly, or because it is the fashion, but they, nevertheless, aid and abet the ruin of many a gambler.

But betting is, I apprehend, more difficult to deal with than drinking. When vice becomes a fashion and even a virtue, it is a long process to deal with it. Betting is not only fashionable but is hardly regarded as a vice. Not so drinking. Fortunately, it is still the fashion to consider drinking a weakness, if not positively a vice. Every religion has denounced it with more or less vehemence. But betting has escaped such special attention. Let us hope, however, that the vigilant public will find a more innocent recreation than attending the race course, and thus show its disapproval of gambling at the race course.

Young India, 27-4-1921

25. *A NON-BRAHMIN'S COMPLAINT*

To
THE EDITOR
Young India

SIR,

Mr. Gandhi made some remarks regarding Brahmins and non-Brahmins in the course of his lecture at the Beach in Madras last Friday. His speech has caused great pain to the non-Brahmin nationalists of Madras. It would have been highly preferable if Mr. Gandhi had not at all touched on this point; for from his speech it was evident that he was completely ignorant of Dravidian civilization, religion, culture, and the inner meaning and causes of the present non-Brahmin movement. He does not seem to have recognized the special features of Dravidian civilization which marks off South India from the rest of India. In praising the Brahmins for their contribution to the religion and civilization of India (probably he means North India), he has involuntarily cast a slur on the non-Brahmins whose ancestors have also contributed as much as, if not more than, the Brahmins to the glory of South India as seen in their literature, religion, and philosophy.

It need hardly be pointed out that nothing can offend a whole community like a slur of the above kind, even though it may be done unwittingly by one whose heart is overflowing with love, and for whom the community has the highest regard. Further, the object of Mr. Gandhi's recent visit and proposed long tour in the South in the middle of the next month is, we may take it, to strengthen the cause, and propagate the movement of non-co-operation.

Surely, making hasty and flippant remarks about a highly vexed question is likely to weaken the cause he advocates and estrange the sympathies of a vast majority of the masses who feel strongly on the movematter.

If he really wants to bridge the gulf unhappily widening between the Brahmins and non-Brahmins of South India, let Mr. Gandhi take up the question in right earnest with an entirely blank and open mind, and then he may in all probability be in a position, after careful study, to find out a solution for the problem. Otherwise he will do well in the interest of the great non-co-operation movement to leave severely alone the Brahmin and non-Brahmin controversy in the course of his forthcoming long tour in South India.

Madras, 11th April, 1921 C. KANDASWAMY

I have received more letters in a similar strain. The correspondents have clearly misunderstood me. I have not seen the report of my speech. I do not, therefore, know whether it lends itself to misinterpretation. But I claim that the Brahmins' service to Hinduism or humanity is unaffected and undiminished by the achievements of the Dravidian civilization which nobody denies or disputes. I warn the correspondents against segregating the Dravidian South from the Aryan North. The India of today is a blend not only of two but of many other cultures.

Young India, 27-4-1921

26. TO GUJARATIS

It is early morning and I am sitting, all by myself, under a tree on the banks of the mighty Indus. Birds are chirping among the trees. No one is in sight except two or three volunteers. In the distance, on one side, is to be seen the Kotri bridge; on the other, nothing but water. On the opposite bank are trees and a few scattered houses, with two or three tiny boats anchored idly in the water. There is a breeze and, thanks to it, the water dances in ripples and makes soft music. Water and sand shine like gold in the sunlight. My Sindhi brethren have bound me securely on all sides with the silken cord of love.

Today is Monday and so they have found for me a secluded and cool spot and lodged me there. When people tell me that my renunciation is great, I smile. The happiness, tranquillity and joy which are mine, even an emperor is not likely to have. I should think rather that such peace was impossible for an emperor. The very responsibilities of government are a crushing burden on him. In my own experience I have confirmation of the truth that the mind alone is the cause of freedom or bondage.

When I compare this love with what I recently enjoyed in Gujarat, they seem to me to be alike. Wherever I go, I feel as if I was receiving the same love as in Gujarat. The reason is that I can regard Sind, too, as my land and feel the joys and sorrows of the Sindhis as much as I do those of Gujaratis. I do not desise even in my dreams any benefit to Gujarat at the cost of Sind. But my patriotism and my religion make me vigilant lest Sind should learn the weakness of Gujarat. Just as I would never have Sind suffer in order that Gujarat may benefit, about foreign countries, too, I feel the same. I would not be guilty of

seeking any benefit to India at the cost of a foreign country. I regard only such an attitude as true patriotism.

But my patriotism is as narrow as it is broad. I have no interest whatever in striving for the welfare of the whole world. I am interested only in the welfare of my own country. I see the good of the world in the good of my country. My *varnashrama dharma* teaches me that there must be some significance in the fact of my being born in India instead of in Europe. Every man is born a debtor. If others owe him anything, he never thinks, should not think, of the fact. The business man who examines his debit account does not have to worry about his credit account. Everyone who learns to discharge his duty gets his rights as a matter of course.

My patriotism directs my attention only to the duties which my country owes. My pride as a Gujarati only tells me what the Gujarati's duty towards India is. If this line of thinking is correct, if my Gujarati sisters and brothers accept it, they certainly know the duty which they owe.

Gujarat by itself can win swaraj before the end of this year. Every person can win his own swaraj, every village can win its own; and everyone, in winning his own swaraj, will be contributing to the winning of swaraj for India.

Those who rest content with paying their own share and no more will show themselves misers. The condition to be fulfilled for winning swaraj is that it is not enough if everyone pays his own share; all should give the most they can. When every individual is ready to bear the burden which all together should carry, only then can the burden be effectively distributed, for everyone's capacity is not the same. Moreover, if in a situation like this everyone does his part of the job and no more, the poor will get crushed by the rich.

India has a population of 32 crores. To give—to collect—a crore of rupees means every person paying two pice. If a millionaire gives two pice and no more, who will pay on behalf of the destitutes, the children, the maimed and the brazen-faced? The right thing is that a millionaire should be ready to bear the whole burden. He to whom much has been given should give much.

Gujarat should calculate its share according to this method of reckoning. It is certainly not too much to expect a collection of Rs. 10 lakhs from Gujarat. In fixing the amount at 10 lakhs, I do not take into account Gujaratis staying outside. Gujaratis residing in Bengal may, if they choose, send contributions to

Gujarat, but they ought to pay their share to Bengal. Gujaratis living in Madras must serve Madras. It will speak for their culture, and India's, if the Gujaratis spend a good part of their wealth at the place where they earn it. It is with these considerations in mind that I fix Gujarat's quota at Rs. 10 lakhs.

I have excluded even Bombay in fixing this figure. The Gujaratis living in Bombay must contribute a handsome amount there. I intend to write later about what I expect from Bombay. At the moment, I am banking on 10 lakhs from Gujaratis living in Gujarat.

The practical way for collecting this amount, or any other bigger or smaller amount, is that workers in every district and Indian State should assume responsibility for raising such portion of it as is within their means.

This holds good in regard to [enrolling] Congress members as well. We should expect a larger number of members where the awakening is greater. If towns like Surat and Nadiad, in which the awakening has been great, rest content with enrolling only as many members as it may fall to their share to enrol, we would simply lose the game which we are about to win. In places where the awakening has been great, I certainly expect that every adult above 21 years of age, whether a man or a woman, a *Dhed* or a *Bhangi*, a Hindu or a Muslim, will be enrolled as a Congress member. If a man is too poor to spare four annas, his neighbour should give him that amount and get him enrolled.

The argument about membership and funds also applies to the spinning-wheel. Where there is greater capacity for work and greater enlightenment, we ought to succeed in introducing a greater number of spinning-wheels. It is only thus by helping one another in every way that we can succeed in implementing our modest, simple and easy-to-understand programme.

Although the programme is an easy one, it is also one which can never be carried out if we remain indolent. It can be implemented only if all workers work honestly and to the best of their ability all the time. This programme is a test for us, has put us on trial and is the primary stage in our education for swaraj. It is, however, a stage which takes us so far that, if we emerge successful from the test, hardly three months will be needed for the rest of the training, for the test is of a kind which will give us self-confidence, courage and strength.

I hope Gujarat will discharge its duty fully.

I have marvelled at the awakening among the women of Gujarat. They have great power in their hands. In the pro-

gramme of work for swaraj, the women's share is as great as, in fact greater than, the men's. I pray to God that the women of Gujarat may play their part to the full and win glory for themselves and for the name of Gujarat and of India.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 1-5-1921

27. *MY NOTES*

Making Hartals Cheap

There seems to be an epidemic of hartals. Karachi, especially, has crossed the limit. Five hartals in a month! It is a hartal if someone is arrested, a hartal if someone is released and a hartal again if the Governor pays a visit. Resorting to hartals in this manner deprives them of all value. To me a hartal is a sacred and powerful weapon. A hartal is in place on an occasion of great religious significance, or it may be resorted to for giving expression to people's feelings when they are very strong. If we look upon any and every occasion as of religious significance or let ourselves be moved by strong feelings whenever something happens and so call for a hartal, we shall have made our measure of what constitutes religious significance or strength of feelings cheap indeed. Had I not felt that we could not do without a hartal during the Satyagraha Week, I would certainly not have been instrumental in further lowering the value of hartals in this season of cheap hartals. I hope that henceforth a hartal will be called for at any place only on rare occasions. The best course is not to have a hartal unless the Congress and the Khilafat Committee have discussed the matter and issued a statement calling for one.

Prison-palace

It is, moreover, a sign of weakness on our part to declare a hartal when someone is arrested. Actually, we want to fill the jails. Our deliverance will be possible only when people in their thousands go to jail. Under an oppressive Government, generally the prison is the only sacred place for a good man. Jail is the dwelling-place of our freedom. When large numbers of wholly innocent men are in jail, we may take it that swaraj is at hand. If we wish to make the jail our natural home under this Government, there is no sense in our declaring a hartal when someone

goes to jail. When we have really shed the fear of jail, the Government will not care to imprison us. When we have learnt to bear the cruellest outrages with a smiling face rather than crawl on our stomachs, refuse to salute the Union Jack under force and to rub the nose on the ground,[1] when we can stand up to face Dyerism and receive bullets on the chest instead of being shot in the back, swaraj will be ours that very day; for heroism, the true Kshatriya spirit, lies in this. For cultivating this spirit, what is needed is not a strong body but a strong, fearless heart. The marks of a Kshatriya spirit are not cruelty and hard-heartedness; it consists, rather, in forbearance, readiness to forgive, compassion, nobility, *apalayanam*[2] and the strength to stand unshaken and fearless even under a shower of bullets. The true Kshatriya does not kill but receives blows on himself. The *mahant*[3] of Nankana Saheb cannot be described as a Kshatriya, he was a murderer.[4] Lachhman Singh and Dulip Singh were true Kshatriyas.[5] This Kshatriya spirit is possible even for a weak and handicapped child. Non-violent non-co-operation is a means of cultivating the Kshatriya virtues. Imam Hussen and Hassan were Kshatriyas. Their oppressor was a tyrant. The child Prahlad[6] was a Kshatriya and Hiranyakashipu a demon. *Varnashrama* does not mean that members of the other castes cannot have the Kshatriya spirit. Members of all the four castes should have the virtues of a Kshatriya, though in a Kshatriya they should be prominent and it is his business in life to cultivate them. But anyone who, born as a Kshatriya, uses his brute strength against the weak is not a Kshatriya but the opposite of a Kshatriya, a *Rakshasa*[7]. The Kshatriya spirit has almost wholly disappeared from India and the aim of non-violent non-co-operation is to revive it.

Lack of Culture

A copy of the pamphlet published at the time of H.E. the Governor's visit to Karachi has come into my hands. It contains these sentences:

[1] These indignities were inflicted on the people during the Martial Law in the Punjab in April 1919; *vide* Vol. XVII, pp. 114-292.

[2] Not running away from battle in fear

[3] Chief priest

[4] & [5] For the incident referred to, *vide* Vol. XIX, pp. 421-5.

[6] He was persecuted by his father Hiranyakashipu for worshipping Vishnu.

[7] Demon

> The Governor is arriving this morning. Do not join the procession in his honour. Our Congress has directed that no Indian should associate himself in any way with the present Government. Observe a hartal on Monday, the 21st instant, and demonstrate to the Government that we desire swaraj. Suspend all work and pray to God for swaraj within a year.

A non-co-operator ought not to be discourteous. We must not omit to address men in authority in terms showing respect, as we intend to show such respect even hereafter. Our non-co-operation is not against the Governor of Bombay as an individual or against the post he holds. It is against the political system as such. There is no meaning in our observing a hartal when a Governor visits a part of his Presidency if we have nothing against him in particular, and it is lack of culture to refer to him in unmannerly language. Even when speaking of the man who perpetrated the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, we use his full name. We have, and need have, no compunction in referring to him as General Dyer. The non-co-operator who disregards the formal courtesy of language violates his self-imposed rule of peacefulness.

Demonstrate to Whom?

The Congress directive is not for a hartal on every occasion, but the foregoing appeal makes it seem that it is. What is it we need to demonstrate to the Government through hartals? We wish to win swaraj by our own strength. If we can gain strength through hartals, let us by all means have them. On this occasion, however, the appeal itself makes it clear that the hartal was intended to demonstrate something to the Government. There is little we need to demonstrate to the Government, or, rather, it is sound work which we need to show. What that work is the Congress has indicated.

My Prayer

A gentleman, writing about the prayer I made at the time of the *Antyaj* Conference[1], says that he could not understand its point. I do not know whether my speech has been correctly reported. My prayer is this: The only thing dear to me is *moksha*[2] My whole effort is to attain *moksha* at the end of this very life. It is with

[1] *Vide* Vol. XIX, pp. 569-75.

this aim that I have taken up so serious a movement as non-co-operation. However, if I do not have my aspiration fulfilled at the end of this life and if the sin of untouchability will not have disappeared by then, I would pray to God that I may have my next birth in an *Antyaj* family so that I could suffer all that they do and do rigorous *tapascharya* to mitigate their sufferings. I believe that the spirit of compassion which I have learnt to value as a *Vaishnava* and of which I have drunk deep from Tulsidas's *Ramayana* teaches me to pray for nothing else but this. The cruel oppression of the *Antyajas* in the name of Hinduism is intolerable to me; it ought to be so to every Hindu.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 1-5-1921

28. *NOTES*

A Set-back

If the facts reported in the Press are substantially correct, the Malegaon non-co-operators have been false to their creed, their faith, and their country. They have put back the hands of the clock of progress. Non-violence is the rock on which the whole structure of non-co-operation is built. Take that away and every act of renunciation comes to naught, as artificial fruit is no more than a showy nothing. The murder of the men who were evidently doing their duty was, if the report is correct, deliberate. It was a cowardly attack. Certain men wilfully broke the law, and invited punishment.

There could be no justification for resentment of such imprisonment. Those who commit violence of the Malegaon type[1] are the real co-operators with the Government. The latter will gladly lose a few officers if thereby they could kill non-co-operation. A few more such murders and we shall forfeit the sympathy of the masses. I am convinced that the people will not tolerate violence on our part. They are by nature peaceful and they have welcomed non-co-operation because it is deliberately non-violent.

What must we do then? We must ceaselessly preach against violence alike in public and in private. We must not show any sympathy to the evil-doers. We must advise the men who have

[1] In April 1921 a police sub-inspector and four constables were killed in an act of mob violence which was provoked by the trial of Khilafat workers.

taken part in the murders to surrender themselves if they are at all repentant. The workers must be doubly careful in their talks. They must cease to talk of the evil of the Government and the officials, whether European or Indian. Bluster must give place to the work of building up put before the nation by the Congress. We must be patient if there is no response to the demand for men, money, and munitions. All police orders must be strictly obeyed. There should be no processions or hartals when known workers are prosecuted or imprisoned. If we welcome imprisonments of innocent men, as we must, we ought to cultivate innocence and congratulate ourselves when we are punished for holding opinions, or for doing things that we consider it our duty to do, i.e., for spinning, or collecting funds, or getting names for the Congress register. There should be no civil disobedience. We have undertaken to stand the gravest provocation and remain non-violent. Let us be careful lest the hour of our triumph be, by our folly, the hour of our defeat and humiliation. I implicitly subscribe to the test suggested by *The Times of India*. It may be recognized that, as a movement relying ostensibly upon soul-force, the only test of its value must be in the absolute sincerity of its upholders. Once let that sincerity fall under justifiable suspicion and those forces are let in which must inevitably end in its moral ruin.

SIND REFLECTIONS

It was a packed programme in Sind. Hyderabad, Karachi, Larkhana, Shikarpur, Sukkur, Rohri, Kotri, and Mirpur Khas, between the 24th and the 30th was a fairly big bite. And as Mr. Mulchand[1] of Sukkur justly remarked, 'the work could only be half done'. 'Better half a loaf than none,' said another friend. Sind has certainly as fine material as any province. It has men, money, and ability. It can lead, if it chooses. But it cannot today, in spite of the advantages mentioned. My letter[2] to "Young Sind" written on the 25th stands without alteration in spite of the later experiences.

Karachi is the worst. Sind is divided into district parties without a central guiding organization. But Karachi has not one party but many groups. It was of Karachi that I heard complaints regarding suspicious finance. Its national public schools, I was told, will not publish accounts. Karachi will not acknowledge one leader. I heard even charges of misappropriation of

[1] A lawyer who renounced his practice during Gandhiji's tour

[2] This is not available

funds. I do not know how far the charges are justified. But they were brought to my notice with such persistence and by so many persons that I feel I must call public attention to them. We are bound to render a faithful account to the people of every pie they give us. I invite the controllers of national schools not only to render accounts of their dealings but also to put their schools under public management. In my opinion there should be but two funds—the Tilak Swaraj Fund and the Khilafat Fund. All activities should come under one or the other organization. All schools must be financed by these two bodies. There should be no separate collections for separate enterprises. We must collect and organize our energy and resources, not fritter them away by having many agencies. We must demonstrate our fitness for swaraj by sinking differences, avoiding jealousies, and submitting to control from a central organization, by being able to collect and honestly spend large sums of money, by managing the education of our children and our own disputes, by being self-contained in every village as to food and clothing, and by driving away national vices such as drink and untouchability.

National schools are springing up everywhere in Sind. I must warn the managers against preparing big budgets. In my opinion, for this year at any rate, every school and college must principally become a carding and spinning institute. It must pay its monthly expenditure from the labour of the boys and girls who attend them. The capital expenditure should only consist of a little furniture and spinning-wheels. We must not waste national time at present by devoting any time to English studies. Earnestness demands recognition of certain fundamental principles, if swaraj is to be attained within one year, and if we *believe* in the programme of non-co-operation and the resolutions of the All-India Congress Committee.

Enough, however, of criticism. There was so much to make one hopeful. The bubbling and almost embarrassing enthusiasm of the people was a soul-stirring sight. The women of Sind gave liberally to the Tilak Swaraj Fund. Karachi led with a purse of Rs. 25,000. The purse is meant for me to be used as I choose. I can only make the choice in favour of the Tilak Swaraj Fund.

The following is a rough estimate of the collections:

Karachi	Rs.	30,000
Larkhana	,,	1,000
Shikarpur	,,	15,000
Sukkur	,,	10,000
Rohri	,,	1,000

Nawabshah	Rs.	5,000
Hyderabad	„	15,000
Mirpur Khas	„	1,000
Sundries	„	1,000

Many non-co-operating students are doing most valuable work in Sind. The most cheering event I can record is the fact that the Shikarpuris had a violent quarrel among themselves resulting in the imprisonment of many notable men, but were able, through the effort of Sadhu Vaswani[1], to make up their differences. This naturally resulted in the discharge of all who were arrested. We would be super-human if we never quarrelled. But we show ourselves as men when we become charitable and amicably settle our differences.

ABUSE OF HARTAL

A correspondent from Karachi writes to me deploring the frequency of hartals in that city. I have also seen a cutting from the *Indian Social Reformer* dealing with the same subject. I agree with the *I. S. Reformer's* criticism that the hartals have become cheap of late. They are fast losing their value. But for the sacred character of the 6th and the 13th April,[2] I would have refrained from advising hartals for those two days. Hartals are either meant as a protest against something extraordinary or a religious demonstration. There was no meaning in declaring a hartal when H. E. the Governor visited Karachi. If it was meant to be a demonstration against him personally, it was bad taste, for in my opinion, he is among the wisest officials and but for the vicious system he is called upon to administer, he would make a popular Governor. Hartals for imprisonments or discharges are equally bad taste. Imprisonments must not inspire fear in us. Under an unjust Government, imprisonments of innocent men must be regarded as their ordinary lot even as disease is the ordinary state of persons living in insanitary conditions. The Government will cease to imprison us when we cease to fear imprisonments. The Government will cease to exist or (which is the same thing) will reform itself, when its most frightful punishments, even Dyer-ism, fail to strike us with fear. Hartals therefore in regard to imprisonments are a symptom of nervous fear and must therefore be tabooed. I quite agree with the *I.S.R.* that local leaders

[1] T. L. Vaswani (1879-1966); seer from Sind; author of *Gita Meditations*, *The Face of Buddha*, and other works; founder of Mira Educational Institutions, Poona

[2] Since the Jallianwala Bagh incident in April 1919, these dates marked the observance of a National Week in the country; *vide* Vol. XIX, pp. 467-9.

ought not to declare hartals without reference to headquarters. As a rule I would say, save the 6th and 13th April, every other hartal should be declared by the All-India Congress Committee and the Central Khilafat Committee in conjunction. It will be a misfortune to cheapen the hartals.

Young India, 4-5-1921

29. A STRING OF QUESTIONS[1]

I have dealt with the first question in a separate article.[2] As for the second question, I think that only godfearing people can become true non-co-operators. But the programme of non-co-operation does not require a man to declare his faith. Any person believing in non-violence and accepting the non-co-operation programme can certainly become a non-co-operator. As to the third question, the correspondent misapprehends the position. The nation has not embarked on complete non-co-operation, not for want of faith or will, but for want of ability. It has, therefore, not called upon Government servants as yet to give up their posts. But any such servant is free to throw up his office whenever he likes. But there cannot be such a call until all reasonable precautions are taken against an outbreak of violence. Not until the nation is in a position to find occupation for such men can the call, therefore, be made. Thus here, there is no question of expediency as it is generally understood. But purest religion is highest expediency. Many things are lawful but they are not all expedient. The law, the ideal of non-co-operation, is before the country.

As to the fourth question, my meaning of swaraj is that India should be able to regulate her life without any restraint from outside. She should be able to regulate her military expenditure and the method of raising her revenue. She should be able to withdraw every one of her soldiers from wheresoever she chooses. How this will be, or can be, done depends upon the nation. India's representatives freely chosen by the people must decide upon the method of execution. If swaraj is not established during one year, if I can help it, certainly not a single boy who has left his school or a lawyer his practice will return thereto.

Young India, 4-5-1921

[1] Ahfad Husain of Bareilly had written to Gandhiji on April 15 raising four questions; *vide* Appendix I.

[2] *Vide* the following item.

30. THE AFGHAN BOGEY

The reader will find elsewhere a string of questions put by a correspondent. The most important relates to a speech delivered by Maulana Mahomed Ali on the fear of an Afghan invasion. I have not read Maulana Mahomed Ali's speech referred to by the correspondent. But whether he does or not, I would, in a sense, certainly assist the Amir of Afghanistan if he waged war against the British Government. That is to say, I would openly tell my countrymen that it would be a crime to help a Government which had lost the confidence of the nation to remain in power. On the other hand, I would not ask Indians to raise levies for the Amir. That would be against the creed of non-violence accepted by both Hindus and Muslims for the purpose of the Khilafat, the Punjab, and swaraj. And I apprehend that Maulana Mahomed Ali could not mean more in his speech than what I have suggested. He could not very well do otherwise, so long as the Hindu-Muslim compact subsists. The Muslims are free to dissolve the compact. But it would be found, upon an examination of the case, that the compact is indissoluble. Dissolution of the compact means destruction of India's purpose. I cannot conceive the present possibility of Hindus and Muslims entering upon a joint armed revolt. And Muslims can hardly expect to succeed with any plan of an armed revolt.

However, I warn the reader against believing in the bogey of an Afghan invasion. Their own military writers have often let us into the secret that many of the punitive expeditions were manufactured for giving the soldiers a training or keeping idle armed men occupied. A weak, disarmed, helpless, credulous India does not know how this Government has kept her under its hypnotic spell. Even some of the best of us today really believe that the military budget is being piled up for protecting India against foreign aggression. I suggest that it is being piled up for want of faith in the Sikhs, the Gurkhas, the Pathans, and the Rajputs, i.e., for want of faith in us and for the purpose of keeping us under forced subjection. My belief (I write under correction) is that the anxiety of the Government always to have a treaty with the Amir was based, not so much upon the fear of a Russian invasion as upon the fear of losing the confidence of the Indian soldiery. Today there is certainly no fear of a Russian invasion. I have never believed in the Bolshevik menace. And

why should any Indian Government, to use the favourite phrase of the erstwhile idol of Bengal, 'broad-based upon a people's affection', fear Russian, Bolshevik or any menace? Surely a contented and a powerful India (all the more), in alliance with Great Britain, can any day meet any invasion upon her. But this Government has deliberately emasculated us, kept us under the perpetual fear of our neighbours and the whole world, and drained India of her splendid resources so that she has lost faith in herself either for defence or for dealing with the simple problem of the growing poverty. I, therefore, do certainly hope that the Amir will not enter into any treaty with this Government. Any such treaty can only mean unholy bargain against Islam and India. This Government, being unwilling to part with O'Dwyerism as an 'emergency' measure, being unwilling to keep its faith with the Muslims, (I must decline to treat the Government of India separately from the Imperial Government) and being unwilling to let India rise to her full height, wants Afghanistan to enter into a treaty of offence against India. I hope that there is but one opinion so far as non-co-operators are concerned. Whilst unwilling ourselves, we cannot wish others to co-operate with the Government.

Young India, 4-5-1921

31. GANDHI OLD AND NEW

The Times of India has returned to the charge of insincerity which was to be inferred from its previous article which I dealt with recently in these columns.[1] It is a sober article to which no exception could be taken. I am certainly anxious to retain the reputation for sincerity which has been credited to me and which I certainly claim. My article, "The Mists"[2] should generally be regarded as my last word to my critics. I must rely upon my actions for final explanation. No man can be called just, sincere, or good before his death. But I would like to correct some of the misstatements of *The Times of India* writer. Even when I declared satyagraha, I was charged with having fallen from my original non-political state and the state of isolation. Even in South Africa, I was referred by my critics to my past. Every campaign that I have been connected with had its critics who

[1] *Vide* Vol. XIX, pp. 559-60.
[2] *Vide* "The Mists", 20-4-1921.

praised my past at the expense of the then present. I state this fact not to disprove the present charge, but to steel my heart against believing in the charge of unconscious insincerity and self-deception. I never suspended satyagraha, I certainly never retired into private life. I suspended civil disobedience, and it remains still suspended, because I believed, as I still believe, the country not to be ripe for it. My Himalayan mistake was my miscalculation of the preparedness of the country. Non-co-operation of the type undertaken is not attended with any danger such as is attendant on civil disobedience. The latter is not *always* a duty as non-co-operation is. Hence it is that I have said that I must continue to advise non-co-operation even though it may result in anarchy. Am I to recall my medals, or advise friends to recall theirs, or advise lawyers to resume practice because, supposing, anarchists have gained the upper hand? Am I to associate myself for fear of anarchy with a dishonest Government which believes in Dyerism as a faith? I know that anarchy as a creed is devilish, but Dyerism is still more so for it is anarchy wearing the mask of constituted authority. Ordered anarchy is infinitely worse than avowed anarchy. Only, in the latter event, I should dissociate myself from the anarchy of the mob as I have dissociated myself from the anarchy of the Government. For me both are evils to be shunned. I have not asked for reprisals against the author of the Jallianwala Massacre. I have asked for nothing more than the stopping of the pensions to the culprits and the dismissal of those who are yet holding office. I have not advised the Sikhs to give any pension to Mahant Naraindas or to keep him in office. I have ventured to advise the Sikhs to waive the prosecution of the murderers as I have advised the nation to waive the prosecution of the official murderers in the Punjab. I claim consistency of conduct about Amritsar and Nankana. I have said repeatedly that I am acting towards the Government as I have acted towards my own dearest relatives. Non-co-operation on the political field is an extension of the doctrine as it is practised on the domestic field. The reference to my association with lawyers, etc., is hardly becoming. As a matter of fact, there are very few practising lawyers now holding office in Congress organizations.

I adhere to my opinion that where non-co-operators are in a majority, none who has not fully non-co-operated should hold office. The Congress Committee has not rejected the proposal. I do not know that practising lawyers presented me with any address in Surat. But I would not hesitate to receive one even from them so long as I was free to wean them from the error of

their ways. So far as my association with the Ali Brothers is concerned, I consider it a proud privilege. But in South Africa, I had as my associates murderers and thieves, men who had certainly suffered imprisonment for attempts to murder or steal. Only they carried out their compact as to non-violence as honourably as any other satyagrahi. I see no difference between the old Gandhi and the new, except that the new has a clearer conception of satyagraha and prizes the doctrine of ahimsa more than ever. Nor, I promise *The Times of India* writer, is there any self-deception in this belief. But time must show who is right. Precedent is on my side.

Young India, 4-5-1921

32. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, KAPADWANJ

May 4, 1921

The *Bohra*[1] community too has to work for swaraj and serve India. The *Bohras* have to make their contribution to the Khilafat movement. I wish to enlist fully the services of the rich in the task of swaraj. The *Bohras* return with big fortunes from outside. It is incumbent on them to donate to the Tilak Swaraj Fund in full the contributions which fall to their share. I use the word 'donate' because it is customary to use it. But it is not the right word, for giving money to the Tilak Swaraj Fund is a business deal, a bargain for swaraj, a duty towards Tilak Maharaj. What is paid in a business deal or to fulfil a duty cannot be regarded as a donation.

* * *

Just as our people fear white men, so do the *Bhangis* fear us. As long as we remain white men to them, we must not hope for swaraj. If we call them *Bhangis* and keep them at a distance, the whole world looks upon us as *Bhangis* and avoids contact with us. Ask anyone who has been to Africa if it is not true that any white man, a drunkard or a prostitute-monger or a gambler, feels polluted by contact with Indians. We cannot travel in trains in the same compartment as the whites, ride in the same trams or walk on the same footpaths; we cannot carry on trade in the same

[1] A Muslim mercantile community; there were a fairly large number of *Bohras* in Kapadwanj, but they had not turned up at the meeting.

locality in which the whites do so. We cannot buy bread where they buy their bread. I grant that this does not happen everywhere. I will not do injustice to Englishmen. I am not their enemy. But I have seen in many places that we are denied admission to places in which the whites lodge and to rooms which they use for retiring or having refreshments. However, the whites keep us at a distance for reasons of hygiene, fearing that their bodies will be polluted. They do not believe that their souls will be polluted. But we have got into the belief that, if we touch an *Antyaj*, our soul will be polluted and God will punish us! Indeed God is punishing us right now. What greater misfortunes can there be than famines, natural calamities, cholera, the plague and the wickedness of the Government? I, therefore, humbly submit to Hindu society that Hinduism does not consist in clinging to untouchability but in getting rid of that evil.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 8-5-1921

33. *SPEECH AT WOMEN'S MEETING, KATHLAL*

May 4, 1921

It is not in the hands of the Brahmins, or of men, to preserve dharma. It is entirely in the hands of women to do so. The foundation on which society rests is the home and dharma is to be cultivated in the home. The fragrance in the home will spread all over society. A city may have flourishing trade and a big population but, if the homes there were not well-kept, I would unhesitatingly say that that city was not good. Women are the presiding deities of the home. If they do not follow dharma, the people would be totally destroyed. The reason why Shri Krishna destroyed the Yadava clan was precisely this, that the Yadava women had taken to immoral ways and forsaken their dharma. I urge you, therefore, to be pure and follow dharma, and pray that, having made yourselves pure, give me and Maulana Shaukat Ali, i.e., the Hindus and the Muslims, your blessing that we may win success in this fight for swaraj, in this fight for dharma.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 8-5-1921

34. WHY I AM HOPEFUL ABOUT PARSIS

Ever since the Parsis settled in India, they have kept their word to the Hindus, honourably and faithfully. When all others in Bombay were struck dumb, it was the Parsis whose courage made the others also vocal. The Parsis' services to Gujarat will ever be remembered. Even the Gujarati language has been served in no insignificant manner by Malbari[1], Khabardar[2] and others. The Parsis have never fought over matters of religion but have been wholly content that they are able to follow their own religion. There is no community in the world which can even approach the Parsis in the matter of charities. The Parsis are endowed in no small measure with the capacity to see the good in others and assimilate it themselves.

No community in the world as small as the Parsis has ever earned prestige as great as it has. I infer from this that their scriptures are of a high spiritual value; they are simple, easy enough for even a child to understand.

But the Parsi community will commit a serious blunder if it wants to depend on the capital of its past greatness for continued survival and for being able to hold its own.

Like others, the Parsis too are at present caught up in the poisonous wind blowing from the West. They have started giving up their traditional ways of simple living. Luxuries are on the increase among them. As the community possesses plenty of wealth, love of ease seems to have crept into it. As a small community can easily rise by following the path of virtue, so it will as easily fall if it takes to the path of immorality. And if it begins to fall, it will certainly not be long before it perishes.

A Parsi gentleman used to visit my father. The two were on intimate terms. I was then a child. How can I forget Edulji Sheth? Every time he came to see my father, his favourite subject of conversation was simplicity. His own way of living was extraordinarily simple. He was related to the late Thakore Saheb of Rajkot too. Edulji Sheth did not hesitate to express even before him his views on wasteful expenditure or ostentation. His courage was as great as his simplicity and both were as great

[1] Behramji Merwanji Malbari (1854-1912); poet, journalist and social reformer

[2] Ardeshar Faramji Khabardar (1881-1954)

as his noble bearing. Ever since then I have felt that the Parsi community can do much, give much, if it wills. I am sure it will save itself from this poisonous wind [from the West] and that its enterprising nature and its regard for dharma will save it. It is my faith that the Parsis will continue to serve India as citizens of the country in the same way as they have done in the past. May God endow them with discrimination, right thinking and courage! Whatever the contribution of the Parsis in this holy fight, India can never forget their nobility and culture.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 5-5-1921

35. OFFER OF PRIZE BY A PARSI SISTER

A sister named Meherbai Bhesania has written a very loving letter from Yokohama, the capital of Japan. It has lain with me unanswered for some time, and I apologize to her for this. I read it again after a lapse of some days. I kept wondering whether or not I should publish it and I was also busy with other things and so could not decide what to do.

It seemed to me doubtful whether, by offering a prize, we could have good national songs. Finally, however, I came to the conclusion that it would not be proper for me not to publish a sister's letter written with the utmost sincerity or not to announce the prize offered by her. I therefore give the letter below. I have omitted a part of it which concerned me alone. Just a few words here and there have been corrected and paragraphs in English have been translated [into Gujarati]. The rest of the letter I give as it is. It is a matter of joy that a sister living so far away takes such interest in this holy fight.

If Goddess Saraswati inspires any poets of Gujarat and they try their hand, not tempted by the prize but to respect a sister's wish conveyed from so far away, I shall be obliged. All entries should be received by June 30 at the latest. If there is an extraordinarily good poem on only one of the subjects, the whole amount of the prize will go to its author. If none of the poems comes up to a certain standard, no prize will be awarded. I shall declare the judge's name later.[1]

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 5-5-1921

[1] This was followed by Meherbai's letter, which is not given here. It offered three prizes of Rs. 75 each to outstanding songs: One, a prayer to God

36. LETTER TO DEVCHAND PAREKH

SURAT,
May 5, 1921

BHAISHRI DEVCHANDBHAI[1],

I had your telegram. It had become impossible for me to go there. If you will, you can see that no home in Kathiawad is left without a spinning-wheel. But can a person ever rise to heaven except by giving up his life?[2] Do you yourself spin? Do you use khadi exclusively, at home and outside?

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original: G.N. 5728

37. SPEECH AT MAHARASHTRA PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE, BASSEIN

May 7, 1921

Your love has drawn me here. I am sorry I cannot stay in your midst for long. With the President's permission, I shall say in brief what I want to.

It is about Mulshi Peta that I must speak first. It grieves me that I have not been able to go there myself and acquaint myself at first hand with the grievances of our brethren there. My knowledge of the details of the struggle is scanty. I rarely get a chance to read a newspaper. I naturally hesitate to speak or write on any matter about which I do not know much. All the same, I have given my views[3] on it in *Young India* without going into details. I convey my sympathy to those who are attending this meet-

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mentioning the names by which followers of different faiths address Him; a second explaining the lesson to be drawn from Lokamanya Tilak's life; and a third comparing non-co-operators to Arjuna and appealing to them, in the manner of Lord Krishna's exhortation in the *Bhagavad Gita*, to shed their weakness.

[1] A fellow-student and life-long friend of Gandhiji

[2] A Gujarati saying meaning, "Can anything be ever achieved unless one exerts oneself?"

[3] *Vide* "Notes", 27-4-1921.

ing as representatives of the satyagrahis of Mulshi Peta. People fighting for their rights always have my sympathy. I understand that the people of Mulshi Peta are fighting to defend the ownership of their farms. I stand by them in their claim. I always support people who are ready to defend their possessions at the sacrifice of their lives, but I can never join hands with those who are ready to kill others, be it even for the cause of truth. These people can get my help only for deciding whether they are fighting for truth or untruth. When I was asked about the people of Mulshi Peta starting a satyagraha, I had replied that, if the people had the necessary strength, the experiment was certainly worth trying. They have proved that they possess that strength. Whatever they have been able to achieve is good, so far as it goes. But they can have complete peace only when they are permanently assured of their rights. If a man does not want to relinquish his rights over a plot of land, it is not in keeping with the traditions of our country to obtain possession of it by recourse to law. I was once engaged in a small case; the man owned an ordinary piece of land but he was after me like a mad man to save it for him. As a father does not wish to sell his child, so also a man is naturally unwilling to part with his land. This has been our nature from ancient times. I hope that our Tata Company will take no steps against the satyagrahis of Mulshi Peta. It is welcome to acquire the land even without payment with people's goodwill, but I hope it will make no move to obtain it so long as even one owner is unwilling [to part with his piece]. It may be European civilization to acquire land by recourse to a Land Acquisition Act, but I should have nothing to do with a civilization which I believe to be Satanic. So long, therefore, as the people of Mulshi Peta carry on their fight on peaceful lines, the whole of India should back them.

I wish to see the bravery of Lachhman Singh and Dulip Singh in Mulshi Peta. Without raising a little finger, these two warriors stood undaunted against the attack of Mahant Naraindas of Nankana Saheb, and let themselves be killed. Their friends had advised them not to go to the *gurudwara*[1] on that day. Mahant Naraindas [it was known] had made preparations for killing them. But they had replied that they would bow their heads before the Guru Granth Saheb[2] and that they could not be more fortunate than if they died with their heads thus bowed.

[1] Sikh place of worship
[2] Holy Book of the Sikhs

Their words came literally true. Lachhman Singh went right into the *gurudwara* and was killed as he stood with his head bowed before the Granth Saheb. Dulip Singh was left outside. Naraindas came out to kill him. Dulip Singh told him, "You have gone mad." He had his dagger with him, but he kept it sheathed. He was well-built, as the Sikhs generally are. Had he so chosen, he could have finished off two or three of his assailants then and there, but that was against his principle. He was bound by the Congress pledge of non-violence. He was killed by Naraindas even as he was pleading with him. Only two such men in 33 crores are not enough. We need such heroes not only among Sikhs, but among Hindus and Muslims as well. Lachhman Singh and Dulip Singh were not lacking in physical strength. But they had resolved not to draw their sword against anyone. I shall not say anything further about Mulshi Peta.

If these two brothers acted with great nobility at Nankana Saheb, the residents of Malegaon have displayed an equal degree of heinousness. No matter how foul the language the sub-inspector used or how grave the provocation offered by him, no one who respected the Congress could commit the dastardly act of killing him. It is the solemn pledge of the followers of the Congress that, for winning the country's freedom, they would not kill anyone but would lay down their own lives instead. Was Naraindas in the Punjab more sparing in his abuses? In Malegaon, our brethren abandoned their humanity. That way swaraj can certainly not be won. I am speaking not as a lawyer but as an Indian. It is only when, by desisting from such deeds altogether, we prove our claim to be peaceful that we shall win swaraj, secure justice for the Punjab, succeed on the Khilafat issue and in stopping the crimes being committed at present in the name of justice. The world will then see that, compelled by the strength of our peacefulness, powerful ministers have had to eat their words and stop the pensions of O'Dwyer and Dyer. It will discover then that neither Ireland nor Russia nor Egypt has the strength that we have. There can certainly be no comparison between them and us. Their movements of non-co-operation are a mixture of various elements. We depend not on cunning and denunciation but on truth. Why do we not stop payment of taxes forthwith? Because in other parts of the country also, there still are people as mad as those in Malegaon. To those people who think that they have a more effective weapon than this one of peace, I appeal to keep out. The least they should do is to refrain from obstructing the progress of the movement.

This is a conference held in Maharashtra. I have already stated in public what I expect from Maharashtra. My faith in it remains. I know that my work will be done when Maharashtra comes to have complete faith in this movement. Nowhere else have I seen the like of Maharashtra's capacity for self-sacrifice and its knowledge. Where knowledge is combined with the spirit of self-sacrifice, the *yagna* is perfect. When Maharashtra starts this perfect type of sacrifice with real enthusiasm, the country or this movement will have no need left for an ordinary man like myself. It is only as long as Maharashtra is not awake that there is need for me to work. Many tell me that Maharashtra is behind others. This is true at present. When Maharashtra comes to have a little more faith, its strength will reveal itself. Just as the sunrise needs no announcement by beat of drum, so Maharashtra's awakening will be evident to all. I pray to God that He may grant strength to Maharashtra, so that it can contribute its full share in this *yagna*. Nobody adores the Lokamanya as much as you do. He lived only for swaraj, he went to jail for it and died working for it. If you prove that you are his worthy heirs, we shall either win swaraj this year or die in the attempt. If you can do this, I shall say that you deserved to have Tilak Maharaj born amongst you. If you do not, give me leave to say that you will prove unworthy of him.

If you are convinced at heart that India has progressed more during these five or six months than at any time in the past, you will secure swaraj during this very year. Only then will you bring peace to the soul of Tilak Maharaj. It must be in agony at present, distressed with the thought why Maharashtra still lacks the faith that it can save India by its *tapascharya*.

I trust that there will not be a single person who will go home without taking the pledge of such *tapascharya*. I shall not be taken in by your raising hands [in support of the resolution]. I am an idolater. What I want is the idol of solid work by you, not the idol of the late Tilak Maharaj. We are out to win swaraj. When some Sindhi brethren asked me what we would do if we failed in our efforts to collect one crore rupees, I told them that they and I would drown ourselves together in the Indus. I know that Maharashtra does not have much money, but it has plenty of strength. With that strength you can have showers of money, if you but choose. How much can you not do in this *pandal*, at this very moment? If you have no faith in anything of this, please tell the world that you, the educated people of Maharashtra, having drunk deep of the philosophy of Bentham and Mill, declare that what

Gandhi says is all madness. My only grief will be to think that non-co-operation is beyond the power of reason to understand, though it is not beyond the sphere of faith. However, it is for you to decide what you should do. All that I shall say is, whatever you accept, accept sincerely.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 22-5-1921

38. MALEGAON'S CRIME

Every non-co-operator has reason to feel ashamed at the wickedness which, it seems, the non-co-operators of Malegaon have perpetrated.[1] The people of Malegaon forsook their dharma, forgot their duty and have done great harm to the country and the national struggle. It is one thing if we do not claim to be civilized and cultured and commit crimes, but it is a different matter to claim that we are cultured and then commit crimes. A dark spot on a black object is not visible, but a black particle in milk will immediately catch the eye. In the same way if, claiming to be pure and white, we get dirty, the world will spit upon us. "Ours is a holy fight", "We insist on peaceful methods", "We will lay down our lives but not kill others": if, after having taken these pledges, we kill anyone, we deceive the world, our own selves and God. The people of Malegaon seem to have done exactly this.

This unworthy act has definitely harmed our struggle. It will certainly delay the coming of swaraj. Who knows we may win it even in a month or so? The speed with which we are advancing is so much more than what it was at the start of the movement that it is impossible for anybody to guess how soon we shall have acquired the strength to win our own back. But swaraj is bound to be delayed correspondingly if we make mistakes; even a child can see this. Everyone doing a sum in arithmetic has to start again from the point where he might have gone wrong. We also should do the same.

Our pledge is never to retaliate against any officer, however much he may try to provoke us. We shall submit to beating but will not retaliate, nor yield. Despite this, the non-co-operators of Malegaon have, it seems, cruelly killed one sub-inspector of police and some others.

[1] *Vide* "Notes", 4-5-1921.

Some non-co-operators broke the law and they were sentenced for that—they had voluntarily accepted the punishment—but the people forcibly got them released. This is no way to defend the Khilafat or to win swaraj.

The most important aspect of non-co-operation is peace, non-violence. It is those who violate peace that are in reality the people who co-operate. Peace-breakers help the Government much more than the Moderates. The Government can very well afford to lose two or three of its officers if thereby it can suppress the non-co-operation movement.

I have often stated in my articles before that the Khilafat issue cannot be solved and swaraj cannot be won unless peace is preserved. Things will not be held up if lawyers do not give up practice, students do not leave schools and colleges and others do not non-co-operate in their respective spheres, but no one can violate peace without harming the cause. Hindu-Muslim unity, preservation of peace and swadeshi, that is, the spinning-wheel, these three are indispensable conditions, and among them preservation of peace is the most important. If most people start wearing khadi, a few individuals here and there not using it will not matter, and a few Hindus and Muslims fighting among themselves may also be tolerated. But even one person violating peace and indulging in killing cannot be tolerated, for it is bound to harm the country greatly. Such is the imperative requirement of peace.

But who can make himself responsible for peace in the whole country? This question betrays our weakness. The Government has the strength to suppress the people if they start looting anywhere; it is only when we have acquired like strength for restraining people from violating peace that we shall be able to win swaraj. We must give up the very idea of swaraj if we cannot influence the people sufficiently to persuade them to remain peaceful. The whole edifice of our fight is based on the faith that we have this influence over the people. If we cannot train people to remain peaceful, we would have to admit that we are not yet fit for swaraj. It is, therefore, necessary that every volunteer attaches the utmost importance to this matter.

Let the drink-addict refuse to give up drink and let the title-holder cling to his honours. Let an official be overbearing and let a policeman even beat us. We must bear all this quietly and refuse to be provoked.

What should we do, then? What atonement shall we make for the Malegaon incident? First of all, we should find out the culprits and persuade them to confess their crimes and willingly mount

the scaffold. Everyone of us must learn to control his own tongue and see that others do likewise. We must stop making inflammatory speeches and must get over the habit of holding meetings and observing hartals on every occasion, and, instead of constantly pointing to the Government's lapses, we must learn to think of our own lapses, to examine our own weaknesses, and must take steps to remove them. When Pandit Arjunlal Sethi was arrested, crowds collected and indulged in rowdyism. I consider this a sign of cowardice. The people do not wish to go to jail and do not let Sethiji do so either. This is the reason why, whenever anyone is arrested, such people seem to be concerned only with creating excitement. If the people were roused to real heroism by Sethiji's imprisonment, they would understand their duty better and would fully carry out those items of non-co-operation which pertain to them and thus ensure swaraj. They would give up harmful addictions, discard any foreign cloth they may have and forthwith start working on the spinning-wheel, if they have not done so. It would be interesting to know how many of those who indulged in rowdyism on the arrest of Sethiji were drink-addicts, how many used foreign cloth and how many had taken up spinning. He is the worthy son of his father who, though he might have been careless about adopting his father's virtues while the latter lived, adopts them in every particular after the latter's death at any rate, and not the one who gives himself over to lamentations or revels in giving caste-dinners in the father's honour. Rioting and getting Sethiji released will not help us to win swaraj. That will only delay the event. If, however, we are spurred to exert ourselves more strenuously to do our duty, we shall certainly win swaraj much sooner and also get the strength whereby we shall welcome Sethiji back in our midst before long. Thus, the only fit atonement for the Malegaon incident is for us to acquire greater control over our minds and our anger, to give up addictions and start plying the spinning-wheel and wearing khadi exclusively.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 8-5-1921

39. *MY NOTES*

An Amazing Order

A public notice has been issued by the Baroda Government about "avoiding harassment to persons on their way to licensed liquor-booths or when they are entering the booths"! Its sight is only painful. This is what it says.[1]

What kind of freedom can this "freedom to drink" be? There is no doubt that the thief has a right to steal. But has not the honest man also a right to prevent theft? The law goes so far as to give the people the right to use force against a thief and drive him out. How is the freedom to commit a theft protected then? Prohibitionists, on the other hand, seek to stop a man from drinking by pleading with him. How does that violate anyone's freedom? The Baroda Government's notice seems to imply, in plain words, that the drink habit is a virtue and the existence of liquor shops a benefit conferred on the people. If a drunkard or the owner of a liquor shop is abused or beaten up or otherwise subjected to force and the Baroda Government punishes the culprit and issues a prohibitory order against him, its action would be justified. But it is nothing short of encouragement to drink if a man is considered guilty because he stands near a liquor shop, advises an intending visitor not to plunge into the fire of drink and appeals to his better nature. I never thought that the policy of the Baroda Government could be so disgraceful as this. I still hope that this notice is not the result of deliberation but has been issued by some autocratic officer on his own responsibility. If this inference is correct, I hope that the Baroda Government will issue an order withdrawing it.

Income from Liquor

The people should bear in mind that our children get their education from the income accruing from the sale of liquor, opium, etc. If our moral and religious values have not declined, we would give serious thought to the matter and stop educating our children with this tainted income. Be that as it may, we are determined to give up this income completely as soon as we have swaraj. We will certainly not trade in liquor and such other articles. We know

[1] The notice is not reproduced here. It warned people in general and students in particular against interfering with the freedom of intending customers.

that the people cannot bear the burden of any new tax. In fact, we shall have to reduce taxes, and yet provide education to many more children than are studying now. This can be achieved only by the means I have suggested. There should be no fees, no increase in taxes, and yet the best education should be provided. Thus, by introducing the craft of spinning in schools we shall, as they say, kill two birds with one stone.

A Parsi Friend's Defence

Shri Phirozeshah Tehmulji Mistri writes from Jalgaon, saying that he runs a liquor-booth; that he has been engaged in the business since childhood; that he has a large family to support and is fifty-one years old. He adds that, if he gives up his business, four Hindus are eagerly waiting to take over the booth. 'What is the sense, in these circumstances, of my giving up my business and depriving myself of the means of supporting my family?', he asks. Will the liquor trade stop as a result of his action? This is the friend's plea. He has my sympathy. One can understand his difficulties. But it is in striving to overcome such moral dilemmas that one shows oneself as a man. If the friend believes it sinful to consume or sell liquor, there is no room for his argument. One does not get the right to commit sins just because thousands of others commit them. And if we are maintaining our family through sin, it would be far better to live by begging.

The friend supplies in his letter some information which is worth noting and should give us pain. He says he deals in country-liquor and is harassed by volunteers, but they did not have the courage to stop a man from going to a shop of foreign liquor, not even to go and speak to him. He says, moreover, that volunteers do not confine themselves to persuasion. They besiege liquor-booths, abuse people, try to intimidate old employees of the booth and, if intimidation fails to serve their purpose, even beat them up. They also snatch away bottles of liquor from the hands of the owner of the booth. If they suspect a person of keeping liquor bottles in his house, they actually search his house. People refuse to sell him things. If a man is seen coming out of a liquor booth, his face is tarred, he is made to ride a donkey and carried about in a procession in a the town.

It seems from the letter that all these complaints are well-founded. If so, the facts stated in it are truly a shame to the volunteers. It is as much our duty to respect the person of the drink-addict as it is to persuade him to give up drink. If we use physical force to make drunkards give up drink, not only shall we

fail in our aim, but our movement will come to harm. Volunteers all over the country must understand that they have absolutely no right to use force on anybody. They must confine themselves to legitimate, courteous means; that is, they may stand near the liquor-booths, politely request the intending visitor to desist, approach the members of his family and speak to other members of his community. Any pressure, beyond this, we have no right to exert. You cannot make a nation ever virtuous by using force. Those who want to be sinners have certainly a right to it. That man alone can be called virtuous who commits no sin though he has the freedom to do so, and such men alone can benefit the country. If we introduce the element of physical force in our efforts to eradicate sin, the evil for which we condemn the Government as Satanic will infect us and we, too, shall become Satanic.

National School—Spinning-wheel School

If we believe that hand-spun yarn alone can win us swaraj, if we have full faith in the power of the spinning-wheel, if we are certain that the economic uplift of India is impossible by any other means, if we agree with the view that millions of people remain perpetually in debt because their incomes are low for want of a subsidiary occupation, we would immediately see that the first lesson we should give our children is in spinning. This will have two results. In the first place, the children will learn to be self-reliant and, in the second, when in schools, too, children are taught spinning, it will soon spread all over the country. It is a somewhat difficult task to induce people who are utterly broken in spirit or who have got into the habit of begging for keeping themselves alive, to take up spinning. If we reserve spinning for such people alone and thus make it a profession of the destitute, it will never spread. When, however, the *elite* take to spinning as part of their dharma, the common man will readily do likewise. It is thus easy to see that the only education, at present, for both children and adults can be spinning.

Simple Reasoning

The reasoning is simple. We should all devote ourselves to that work exclusively which will help us soonest to win swaraj. The only activity of this sort is spinning. Through it we can achieve boycott of foreign cloth in the course of this very year, and boycott of foreign cloth means swaraj. We cannot win swaraj in one year by improving our knowledge of English and, therefore, our work to that end should be, at any rate temporarily, suspended. Simi-

larly, as we cannot win swaraj in one year by becoming great mathematicians or making big scientific discoveries, we must suspend that effort too. Nor, again, can we have swaraj in one year by starting factories to make paper, pins, etc., and so efforts to that end should also be postponed. In like manner, we may put ourselves questions about any other pursuit and we shall get the same reply. We can see from this that only one activity should find a place in all our educational institutions, colleges, high schools, primary schools and teachers' training colleges. Any education in letters that is considered necessary may be given during the period of relaxation, when the hand requires rest. An educated Englishman used to have his recreation through mere change of work. If he came out of the House of Commons quite exhausted, he would set himself to observing the movements of ants and flies. When tired of this, he would take to reading books. In this way, he found recreation and rest in his varied pursuits. Why cannot we form this habit in our students? When tired of spinning, they may take up study of Hindi. When tired of that, they may revert to spinning. If they do not have courage for that, they may engage themselves in learning music. When that, too, ceases to be interesting, they may think of taking up the spinning-wheel again. If even after this lapse of time they do not feel inclined to spin, they may learn physical drill and exercise. After that, they may once again think of spinning. In this way they will become spinning-addicts by and by. If there is any addiction which the nation requires at present, it is the addiction to spinning. I suggest this work to the habitual drunkards as the most effective remedy [for their addiction]. The intoxication of the spinning-wheel is by no means less potent than that of liquor. He alone who has experienced it knows its effect. The difference is that while the one kills, the other gives life.

Skill in Work

Without skill, one cannot work the spinning-wheel. It is but a tiny little contrivance, easy to turn and next to nothing in price, but it puts to a fairly stiff test a man's perseverance, his firmness, his sincerity and his patience. Spinning does not mean drawing thread anyhow from cotton. It means being conversant with all the preliminary processes. Every one who has read the article by "Ramanuja" will understand the point. The women in Andhra who spin yarn of 120 counts know the tests for the quality of cotton, pick out cottonwool from the pods with their own hands, gin it and card it themselves and then prepare their own slivers

as white, as soft and as polished as sea-foam. Their skill is employed chiefly in these processes only. After this, producing yarn of 120 counts appears to them child's play. Spinning requires time. The preliminary processes are easy to learn and take less time. It is not necessary that everyone of us must attain to the level of these model women-workers, but it is certainly necessary for everyone to pick up the arts of carding and making slivers. It requires one day only to learn to make slivers. Let us suppose it takes a week to learn carding. Even then every spinner must spare that time and learn carding. Our object will not be served if we use mill-made slivers; it is impossible, besides, to supply such slivers to all places.

The reader should also know that, formerly, carding was actually a profession and not a social duty, and so the carder used to earn his daily wages just as other artisans did. Carders easily earn as much as Rs. 45 a month, at any rate, not less than Rs. 30. Some carders in Bombay earn two and a half rupees a day. A spinner would require so little time to attend to the carding himself that, if his object is to earn, he can have two annas more for every pound of yarn. One can card within a short time all the cotton that one uses up for spinning during a whole day.

My Miscalculations

Experience has shown me that I had erred in putting down a schoolboy's earning for spinning at one anna for four hours. Fortunately, I had erred on the side of caution. Being conscious of my ignorance, I had been over-cautious. I had put down the wages for eight hours' spinning at no more than two annas. I now see that a spinner can easily turn out in eight hours not 20 *tolas* but 40 *tolas* of yarn. If we put the average wage for spinning 40 *tolas* at four annas, eight hours of spinning bring four annas to the worker. During the Satyagraha Week, the children in the Satyagraha Ashram devoted themselves entirely to spinning. Some of them spun for as many as 10 hours and some started spinning at 4.30 a.m. In the result, one student spun in 10 hours as much as 70 *tolas* of yarn. That comes to seven *tolas* an hour. A good many more spun at the rate of five *tolas* an hour. None of these had a previous training of more than five months and that, too, not always for even four hours a day. The capacity of these children has opened my eyes and I realize that a careful child can give definitely five *tolas* an hour. At that rate, a child working for four hours for his school can earn for it two pice an hour, i.e., Rs. 3-2-0 a month at the rate of four hours daily for 25 days. I take this to be the

maximum rate of income. Even supposing, however, that the school gets on an average only two rupees a month, it comes to 40 rupees for every class of 20 pupils. Enthusiastic children can give easily 60 rupees a month to an efficient teacher. This was one mistake.

Further experience suggests that the children themselves should card cotton and make slivers. That would bring an additional income of one anna for every half-pound of cotton. I count the carding and sliver-making charges at two annas a pound. As the work will take up some time, we may put down the additional income for four hours at two pice instead of at four. It would then come to an addition of 50 pice for 25 days. That means that a good child will give Rs. 3-2-0 plus Re. 0-12-6, i.e., Rs. 3-14-6. My earlier estimate was only Rs. 1-9-0. This second mistake of mine lay in my assuming that carding would be a separate work and would have to be entrusted to professional carders.

When spinning and weaving are introduced in schools, they would keep a stock of cotton, etc., and when we take into account the market-price of yarn[1] as well, something more must be added. I do not consider it an excessive estimate at all if we add two pice per pound of yarn. We shall see, when we have worked out all the figures correctly, that this means an immense gain to the nation from every point of view, how immense we shall know if we ask people who manage factories. When I think of the great gain it would mean for the country if, teaching this craft to the hundreds of thousands of children attending schools, we estimate the value of their labour and also take into account the fact that the people will acquire control over the yarnmarket in this way, I feel certain that, if but the nation understood this plain and simple thing, the country's hunger could be ended in a very short time.

One thing still remains. When we have introduced weaving, too, in schools, their earning capacity would increase still further. If we put down two pice an hour for spinning, we may safely count one anna an hour for weaving. But even if, for the present, we leave weaving out of our calculation, it is certain that a school in which every pupil earns for it four rupees a month, that is, pays a fee of four rupees a month, will require no grant and no donation. It will become self-sufficient and the pupils will have to pay no fee in cash.

I have advised the Surat Municipality to impart education of this type. It intends to forgo a grant of one hundred and ten

[1] As against the cost in the school

thousand rupees. If it might be possible to do this, no additional taxation would be necessary, the children could be given free education and the swaraj movement would be greatly helped—such is the sovereign remedy I have suggested.

I have not lost sight of the difficulties. The biggest is about accommodation. But where the citizens are helpful, it should be an easy thing to overcome such difficulties. Buildings owned by caste-bodies and other associations, as also temples and mosques, could be used for storing spinning-wheels. Training in spinning cannot be given to all the children who are generally penned up in the present school buildings. Fortunately, the spinning-wheel does need some space but does not breathe, so that, though occupying space, it will purify the air and not foul it and, because of the relatively low impurity in the air, the children's physical condition will improve along with their minds.

Swaraj through Spinning-wheel

With the utmost courtesy and giving his reasons, a gentleman raises doubts about the power of the spinning-wheel to bring us swaraj. Though the whole letter is worth reproducing, for want of space I give here only the gist of his argument. He says: "The spinning-wheel can perhaps make us self-reliant, can even help us to earn a living comfortably, but it passes my understanding how it can help us to win political power. The spinning-wheel was there in Clive's time and still we lost our freedom. That is to say, an end to Lancashire's interests does not mean the end of all the interests of England. Hence, even if foreign cloth ceases to be imported, England will still possess substantial vested interests in India." These doubts are not pointless, but it ought to be easy for the reader of *Navajivan* to answer them; in view of the fact that they are nevertheless entertained by this friend, who seems to be a careful and regular reader of *Navajivan*, I see the inadequacy of my own powers of explanation. If I persevere in patiently explaining the matter in different ways, I hope that readers will be gradually convinced. I am quite sure that there is no flaw in my reasoning. It is my power of explaining which must be at fault. The correspondent seems to agree, at any rate, that with the help of the spinning-wheel we can bring about boycott of foreign cloth. If so, I submit that this same power, the power by which, in the face of numerous obstacles and despite harassment by the Government, we can bring about boycott of foreign cloth, ought to serve our purpose for winning political freedom.

Let us now examine the figures. We spend Rs. 60 crores on foreign cloth. Next comes sugar, which carries away 23 crores. Then comes steel, with 16 crores. The next noteworthy item, machinery, consumes about nine crores and a half. Of nearly the same order is mineral oil. The remaining items are relatively of minor importance. If we can succeed in the great task which we have undertaken of saving Rs. 60 crores, similar ventures for saving the remaining amounts will appear like child's play. That is, if we can eliminate the largest factor in England's policy of exploitation, it will not be very difficult to eliminate the rest. I am convinced that, when this ideal state has been realized, England, with no material interests to serve, will not keep its army here and retain its other powers by force.

Let us now examine this matter from another angle. For winning swaraj, we need honesty, unity, firmness, organizing power, capacity to build up national trade, countrywide spirit of patriotism, indomitable courage and spirit of self-sacrifice. The spinning-wheel will be revived throughout the country only when we can show all these qualities. No power on earth can keep in bondage a nation which can display these qualities.

On the day when the country has, as a matter of religious duty, carried out the boycott of foreign cloth, we shall be able to issue an ultimatum to the British Government. By that time, we shall have developed such strength that, if the Government does not respond to the ultimatum—does not respect our wishes, we shall be strong enough even to stop payment of land revenue.

It is true that we had the spinning-wheel in Clive's time. We had not been enslaved then, but the process had begun. As the spinning-wheel increasingly fell into disuse, we became more and more enslaved, or, rather, the East India Company came to be more interested in crippling us.

What Is Done with Jewellery, etc.?

The same gentleman says in another letter that I have been collecting cash, jewellery, etc., and that people have faith in me; but, he asks, what would happen to all this collection when I might not be in a position to exercise control over everyone or if my connection with the swaraj movement came to an end? This question is as important as the previous one. Whatever I receive in cash and jewellery during my tours, I hand over to the regional Provincial Congress Committees where they have already been formed and I am sure that the provinces concerned keep accounts of the same. To be exact, the collection in Bengal has been

handed over to Shri Chittaranjan Das, in Bihar to Babu Rajendra Prasad[1], the Secretary there, in the United Provinces to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in the Central Provinces to Sheth Jamnalalji[2], in Delhi to Dr. Ansari[3], in the Punjab to Lala Lajpat Rai[4], in Utkal to Shri Gopabandhu Das, in Andhra to Shri Venkatappayya, in Madras to Shri Rajagopalachari[5], in Karnatak to Shri Gangadharrao Deshpande, in Maharashtra to Shri Narsopant Kelkar, in Bombay to Shri Shankarlal Banker[6] and in Gujarat to Shri Vallabhbhai Patel. A new Provincial Committee has not been formed for the whole province of Sind and there is no co-operation among its different districts, so I have carried with me the contributions received there and am thinking of making arrangements for their management through the All-India Congress Committee. In every place where cash and jewellery have been handed over to others, the persons concerned are highly respected men, they are either Presidents or Secretaries of the local Provincial Committees and enjoy my confidence. Contributors have also been told what arrangements I intended to make in respect of their contributions. The respective Provincial Committees are bound to keep accounts of all funds and to publish them and are subject to the control of the All-India Congress Committee in the matter. Thus, the chances of any misappropriation of these funds are the fewest. What more than this can be done? I admit that much of the money being received is owing to the people's regard for me at present. But the people's faith in the work proposed to be done with it and, equally with this, the greatness of the person whose memory we wish to perpetuate, are also responsible for the contributions. Every precaution has been taken to see that the money is spent well. An account of the amounts collected in Gujarat will soon be published, and similar

[1] Dr. Rajendra Prasad (1884-1963); Congress leader, lawyer and scholar; Chairman, Constituent Assembly of India, 1946-50; first President of India, 1950-62

[2] Jamnalal Bajaj (1889-1942); merchant, social worker and philanthropist; treasurer of the Congress for a number of years and a close associate of Gandhiji

[3] Dr. Mukhtar Ahmed Ansari (1880-1936); nationalist Muslim leader; President, Muslim League, 1920; President, Indian National Congress, 1927-8

[4] 1865-1928; Indian patriot popularly known as the "Lion of the Punjab" was deported by the British Government in 1907 and lived for some years in the U.S.A.; President of the Indian National Congress, 1920

[5] Chakravarti Rajagopalachari (1879-); lawyer, journalist, author and statesman; Governor-General of India, 1948-50

[6] Shankarlal Banker; social worker, leader, printer and publisher of *Young India*. He was arrested and convicted along with Gandhiji in 1922.

accounts will continue to be published from time to time. It is my advice and request to sisters and brothers in Gujarat to keep all bodies vigilant and be so themselves. Our future depends on our success in collecting one crore of rupees and our remaining perfectly upright in spending the amount.

"Open Letter" from an "Antyaj"

One Shri Juthabhai Shivji has addressed an "open letter" to me. This is its substance. He says that, if Hindus listen to my speeches about *Antyajas*, they do so merely to please me. Believing that it was the *Antyajas* whose absence I regretted,[1] he points out that their absence was not at all due to fears occasioned by false rumours but to their lack of faith. Let me tell those who think as Shri Juthabhai does that the regret I expressed was for the absence of Hindus who look upon themselves as orthodox. My speech contained an appeal to them and that is why I wished that they had been present.

If it is true, however, that *Antyajas* were not present in large numbers because of their lack of faith, that fact also is to be regretted. They need to have faith in themselves alone. The object of holding the *Antyaj* conferences was to influence the *Antyajas* much more than to influence Hindu society as a whole. Many of the resolutions passed pertained to internal reforms. I hope, therefore, that *Antyaj* friends will not, owing to any such misunderstanding, keep away from conferences in future.

Shri Juthabhai says further that, before starting any movement for swaraj, we should first launch a fight against untouchability. We shall be justified in condemning British rule after the Satanic oppression of *Antyajas* by caste Hindus is ended. I am in sympathy with this argument of Shri Juthabhai; there is, however, a serious flaw in it. The struggle for swaraj is a movement for emancipating ourselves from our sins. Self-purification means being free from sins. So long as the *Antyajas'* untouchability has not ended, that of the Hindus will not end either. The one is intimately connected with the other. How can swaraj ever be won so long as the sinful practice of treating the *Antyajas* as untouchables is not given up? I think, therefore, that those of Shri Juthabhai's way of thinking need to keep patience and take full part in this movement for swaraj. It is not other Hindus who will grant swaraj to *Antyajas*; they will win their own swaraj. No

[1] *Vide* Vol. XIX, pp. 569-75.

one who understands the idea of swaraj will fail to see the need for non-co-operation.

HINDUS OF KALOL

Describing my experiences in Gujarat, I had remarked on the Kalol *mahajans'*[1] regard for *Antyajas*. Afterwards, however, I came to know that they were so enraged at my visit to the *Antyaj* locality, that they said harsh things about it and many of them even took a bath by way of expiation. I was sorry to learn all this. I have been told that one cause for their anger was that, after my departure, some persons forcibly got *Antyajas* admitted into the *pandal*. If anybody did this, I would consider that also wrong. We can progress only by tolerating one another's views, right or wrong. Those who took a bath and those who said harsh things about me were within their rights. People who regard it as a sin to touch *Antyajas* cannot be convinced of their error by force. The sin of untouchability can be washed clean only by being patient with them and explaining to them the meaning of dharma. The only lesson that I want to draw from this incident is that nobody, lured by the prospect of swaraj or in order to please me, need keep back his views or suppress his feelings and touch *Antyajas*. We can profit from a thing only by doing it thoughtfully and with full understanding. Misplaced regard for others, fear and the like also obstruct swaraj.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 8-5-1921

40. REPLY TO ADDRESS AT ALLAHABAD CONFERENCE[2]

May 10, 1921

Mahatmaji in a short speech thanked the people of Allahabad for their enthusiastic welcome and said that he had visited Allahabad so many times before that he felt quite at home there. It had become customary in his recent tours that addresses of welcome were presented to him by various municipalities. The presentation of an address was only an expression of their

[1] The local business community or their representative body

[2] An address of welcome on behalf of the citizens was read out by Motilal Nehru at the Allahabad District Conference. Mahomed Ali presided. Besides the delegates and peasants, it was attended by Kasturba, Lala Lajpat Rai, Shaukat Ali, Rambhuj Dutt Chowdhari, Hasrat Mohani, Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew, Swami Shraddhanand, Purushottamdas Tandon, Sarojini Naidu and Jawaharlal Nehru.

agreement with the non-co-operation programme and that those who presented the address were with them in their present struggle for freedom. At Allahabad their municipal commissioners thought that as he was a politician, it was not proper for them to present to him a welcome address. They were right from one point of view, but this attitude required a radical change. He wanted the municipalities to realize their own strength and not to remain tame instruments of a routine of work. They should not however think that the address was withheld for some enmity with him. The addresses presented to him and his brother Maulana Shaukat Ali so far were from smaller municipalities. As for the bigger municipalities, it was difficult to change their course so abruptly.

They should, however, forget this episode and go on with their work as enjoined by the Congress. They had to take swaraj within that year and to right the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs. This could not be attained by mere conferences and lectures and poems and welcome addresses. If it were possible to attain their object in that manner, they could have easily done it through their Congress. There was a time when the Congress and other conferences asked something from the Government, and when they met next year and their demands were not met by the Government, they passed a resolution of protest and there the matter ended. That time had changed now and they had to take their object by their own efforts. The Congress had placed a practical scheme before them and they had to work it in order to achieve what they wanted. If they gave up conferences and poems and welcome addresses, etc., no harm could be done, but if they refrained from doing what the Congress asked them to do they could never attain swaraj.

In their welcome address they referred to the fact that there was another name of the city of Allahabad, viz., Fakirabad, and he wished that the city were worthy of that name in the fullest sense of the word. For their present movement they required the services of fakirs or spiritual beings and he hoped that the city would give a lead to India in that respect.

The Congress wanted them to do three things, viz., to enlist 1 crore members of the Congress, to contribute 1 crore of rupees towards Tilak Swaraj Fund, and introduce 20 lakh charkhas in Indian homes. He wanted to know how much they did for each. As regards the first, he was glad to be reminded that all those present before him were members of the Congress, but he wanted them to work more and collect their proper share in proportion of their population.[1]

He was sorry to hear that not much was contributed to the Tilak Swaraj Fund from Allahabad. If Allahabad was poor, he did not want them to contribute in rupees, but even if every man in the province could pay two pice each,

[1] The report in *The Pioneer*, 12-5-1921, has: "He desired to know how many persons from Allahabad District and the city had joined the Congress, and exhorted his audience to send in their names before the Conference dispersed."

they could contribute substantially towards their share. Allahabad was a place of pilgrimage and they could form Seva Samitis to help the pilgrims and then ask them to contribute for the Fund and he was sure that, if they worked hard in this way, they could easily collect an amount which would be equal to, if not more than, the share allotted to them.

Then there was the introduction of 20 lakh charkhas. He did not want them to possess these charkhas and to worship them but to take the same work from them which, as Mr. Mohamed Ali said in one of his speeches, the British Government took from machine-guns. If 20 lakh charkhas were working at least 4 hours daily, he felt sure that in a very short time no Indian will feel ashamed of putting on the cloth made in his own country.

In his recent tours in India, the speaker as well as Maulana Shaukat Ali had shown to the country the absolute necessity of Hindu-Muslim unity and, if the country did not still realize the fact, no amount of propaganda could bring it home to them. They had also demonstrated that they were absolutely non-violent. In this respect he was sorry to note that some of the *kisans*[1] were not strictly adhering to non-violence and strongly deprecated their conduct. They should fully understand that they should not use violent language even for their enemies; instead of being violent, they should create a spirit of suffering and sacrifice, and even if some of them were sent to jail, they should not give vent to angry demonstrations. For it is only by their readiness to go to jail that they could hasten their way towards swaraj. He deprecated the action of the people of Malegaon and asked them to take a lesson from the episode and never allow its repetition. If the speaker or Maulana Shaukat Ali—or Mohamed Ali or any other worker in the cause—was sent to jail they should not kill any sub-inspector even if their men are killed by him. When they had created that spirit in them and when they had lost all fear of jail, which to a worker like himself was a place of rest and comfort, swaraj would not remain at a distance.

He did not know why the Government were so anxious to shut up Maulana Mohamed Ali while the speaker said every word that the Maulana had said. The fault of Maulana Mohamed Ali is said to be that he had said, that when the Afghans attacked India, he would send the message that the Indians would not help the British Government against the invasion either in money or in men and the speaker endorsed every word of the Maulana. He asked the Hindus not to be afraid of the Afghan bogey, for no religion expected its votaries to be cowards. He knew that the Pathans were very strong but no Pathan, however strong, could force him to eat beef or act against his religion. The present Government had forfeited their confidence and unless they (this Government) righted the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs, they should not expect any help from the Indians if the Afghans or any other power invaded India. They were, however, to remain non-violent under all circumstances and never

[1] Peasants

to kill anyone even under the greatest provocation, for in doing so, they would forfeit their claim for swaraj.

In conclusion, Mahatmaji emphasized there was only one religion to-day for Hindus as well as Mussulmans and that was to get the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs redressed and to save their country from slavery. If they wanted to work for this country, they should follow the Congress lead and act up to its injunctions however insignificant they appeared to be for the great object in view.

He prayed to God in the end to give them sufficient strength to follow the Congress lead.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 13-5-1921

41. NOTES

Swami Govindanand

So, Swami Govindanand has got five years' transportation. He has a tough back. He has undergone previous incarceration without trial. He has put on record his experiences of the tortures he had to put up with in the various gaols in which he was placed. He has now gone through the farce of a trial and has been duly convicted. Does the transportation on that account carry any weight, or does it not rather show the hypocrisy of the whole transaction? The form is changed, the spirit remains the same. What is wanted is a change of the spirit. "Handsome is that handsome does." I have read the full text of the Swami's speech. It contains some bitter and offensive language but nothing out of the ordinary. Certainly there is no incitement to violence in it. Disaffection there is. But if he deserved prosecution for uttering disaffection, I am as guilty as Swami Govindanand. I have probably the greatest disaffection for the existing system of Government. For nobody has perhaps the same horror of the system that I have. One would think that disaffection was an established common fact in India and that so long as the speakers did not incite to violence, they were to be free from the attentions of the police. But the worst of this Government is that it has no consistent policy. The late Mr. Chamberlain[1] used to pride himself on reiterating his belief that a British official's word was as good as a bond. We know by painful experience that, to-day, a British Government's bond is worth no more than waste paper. Happily, India was under no delusion when Sir William

[1] Joseph Chamberlain (1836-1914); Secretary of State for Colonies, 1895-1903

Vincent pompously pronounced the sentences conveying to the Indian ear the assurance that non-co-operators were to be left undisturbed so long as there was no incitement to violence. The assurance only meant that non-co-operators were to be left undisturbed so long as their propaganda did not result in effective action. Now that we have gone far beyond the stage of mere demonstration, we need not expect freedom from imprisonment or worse. The more the movement tells, the greater must the repression be. Five years' transportation is clearly intended to produce a theatrical effect. Five years in the life of India to-day mean, I do not know, how many ages. If India is as good as her word, she would have acquired the power long before the expiry of the period to discharge all prisoners unjustly detained. But whether that event is far or near, our duty is clear. We must answer every imprisonment not with anger, as in Malegaon, but with quiet courage and determination. We must prosecute, if we are true to our creed, still more vigorously the concrete constructive programme of the All-India Congress Committee to its full fruition. We must not indulge in empty or provoking demonstrations at each arrest. We must not indulge in bravado. We must seek imprisonment for doing solid work.

Malegaon Misbehaviour

I observe that there is a tendency to minimize the guilt of the non-co-operators at Malegaon. No amount of provocation by the sub-inspector could possibly justify retaliation by the non-co-operators. I am not examining the case from the legal standpoint. I am concerned only with the non-co-operator's. He is bound under his oath not to retaliate even under the gravest provocation. We have the brilliant instance of Sardars Lachhman Singh and Dulip Singh and their party. If we are true non-co-operators, we must develop the power of dying as they died. I would have hailed with joy the immolation of Malegaon non-co-operators if they had died bravely and without providing any justification. That would have brought the day of India's freedom nearer. As it was, who gave the first provocation, again, from the non-co-operator's standpoint? Did they or did they not try to overawe the police? These delirious demonstrations when any of us is arrested are, as I have already observed before, an unseemly exhibition of our anxiety to avoid imprisonment. We have chosen a standard of judgment for ourselves and we must abide by it. I retain the opinion that the non-co-operators, so far as the facts hitherto brought to light show, committed a grievous breach of

the code of non-violent non-co-operation. I would ask the public who are interested in the Khilafat or swaraj, religiously to refrain from *all* demonstrations over the arrest or imprisonment of even their dearest leaders. I would hold it no honour to me for the public to proclaim a hartal or hold meetings if I was arrested or Maulana Shaukat Ali for that matter. I would welcome and expect in any such event a complete immediate boycott of all foreign cloth, a more energetic adoption of the spinning-wheel, a more vigorous collection in behalf of the Tilak Swaraj Fund and a flooding of Congress offices for registration as members. I would certainly expect the emptying of Government schools and colleges and more suspensions of practice by lawyers. Killing officers and burning buildings will not only retard the advent of swaraj and the righting of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs, but are likely to lead to utter demoralization of the nation. We must therefore scrupulously avoid all occasions which would excite the passions of the mob and lead them into undesirable or criminal conduct.

Carping Criticism

Often do young men criticize the conduct of leaders without just cause. The latest instance that has come to my notice is rather striking. A special train was arranged for a visit to Mirpur Khas from Hyderabad during my recent visit to Sind. This was too much for a correspondent. He thought that the leaders had indulged in a waste of national funds. I had not stopped to inquire the reason why the special was arranged. He advised me to cancel the special and give a day more to Sind and save the money. If he had inquired into the matter, the friend would have discovered that without the special it was impossible to take me to Mirpur Khas, that I could not have given a day more to Sind without disturbing the rest of the programme, that it was necessary for me to go to Mirpur Khas and that the expense was comparatively small. Criticism of public men is a welcome sign of public awakening. It keeps workers on the alert. Those who pay have a right to ensure economy. There is undoubtedly an extravagance often noticed about popular demonstrations, much money is spent in tinsel splendour. The expense is often thoughtless. And we are likely to gain by fearless criticism of public expenditure or general conduct of public men. But all such criticism must be well informed and thoughtful. All carping criticism must be avoided.

Whilst on the question of railway travelling, I must remark that there is still noticeable a desire to avoid 3rd class travelling.

I am sorry to say that, being no longer physically able to travel 3rd class, I am deprived of the inestimable experiences of 3rd class railway travelling. It affords an opportunity of contact with the national mind which nothing else does. It enables one to render service which cannot be otherwise rendered. I would therefore urge all workers to avoid 2nd class travelling save in rare cases. No one perhaps knows better than I do the discomfort of 3rd class railway travelling. I put it down partly to callous railway management and partly to bad national habits that ignore the convenience of the neighbours. Observant workers travelling 3rd class would efficiently deal with the disregard both of the management and the passengers. There is no doubt that 2nd class travelling is not within the reach of the masses. And national servants may claim no privileges not enjoyed by the latter.

Young India, 11-5-1921

42. HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY

That unity is strength is not merely a copybook maxim but a rule of life is in no case so clearly illustrated as in the problem of Hindu-Muslim unity. Divided we must fall. Any third power may easily enslave India so long as we Hindus and Mussulmans are ready to cut each other's throats. Hindu-Muslim unity means not unity only between Hindus and Mussulmans but between all those who believe India to be their home, no matter to what faith they belong.

I am fully aware that we have not yet attained that unity to such an extent as to bear any strain. It is a daily growing plant, as yet in delicate infancy, requiring special care and attention. The thing became clear in Nellore[1] when the problem confronted me in a concrete shape. The relations between the two were none too happy. They fought only about two years ago over what appeared to me to be a small matter. It was the eternal question of playing music whilst passing mosques. I hold that we may not dignify every trifle into a matter of deep religious importance. Therefore a Hindu may not insist on playing music whilst passing a mosque. He may not even quote precedents in his own or any other place for the sake of playing music. It is not a matter of vital importance for him to play music whilst passing a mosque. One can easily appreciate the Mussulman sentiment

[1] *Vide* Vol. XIX, pp. 538-42.

of having solemn silence near a mosque the whole of the twenty-four hours. What is a non-essential to a Hindu may be an essential to a Mussulman. And in all non-essential matters a Hindu must yield for the asking. It is criminal folly to quarrel over trivialities. The unity we desire will last only if we cultivate a yielding and a charitable disposition towards one another. The cow is as dear as life to a Hindu; the Mussulman should therefore voluntarily accommodate his Hindu brother. Silence at his prayer is a precious thing for a Mussulman. Every Hindu should voluntarily respect his Mussulman brother's sentiment. This however is a counsel of perfection. There are nasty Hindus as there are nasty Mussulmans who would pick a quarrel for nothing. For these we must provide *panchayats* of unimpeachable probity and imperturbability whose decisions must be binding on both parties. Public opinion should be cultivated in favour of the decisions of such *panchayats* so that no one would question them.

I know that there is much, too much distrust of one another as yet. Many Hindus distrust Mussulman honesty. They believe that swaraj means Mussulman raj, for they argue that without the British, Mussulmans of India will aid Mussulman powers to build a Mussulman empire in India. Mussulmans on the other hand fear that the Hindus, being in an overwhelming majority, will smother them. Such an attitude of mind betokens impotence on either's part. If not their nobility, their desire to live in peace would dictate a policy of mutual trust and mutual forbearance. There is nothing in either religion to keep the two apart. The days of forcible conversion are gone. Save for the cow, Hindus can have no ground for quarrel with Mussulmans. The latter are under no religious obligation to slaughter a cow. The fact is we have never before now endeavoured to come together to adjust our differences and to live as friends bound to one another as children of the same sacred soil. We have both now an opportunity of a lifetime. The Khilafat question will not recur for another hundred years. If the Hindus wish to cultivate eternal friendship with the Mussulmans, they must perish with them in the attempt to vindicate the honour of Islam.

Young India, 11-5-1921

43. SPINNING AS FAMINE RELIEF

Mrs. Jaiji Petit has sent the following notes[1] of an experiment being conducted in spinning among the famine-stricken people at Miri near Ahmednagar. I gladly publish the notes as the experiment is being conducted under the supervision of an Englishwoman. The reader will not fail to observe the methodical manner in which the work is being done. All the difficulties have been met and provided for. Even the very small experiment shows what a potent instrument the spinning-wheel is for famine relief. Properly organized it cannot but yield startling results.

Young India, 11-5-1921

44. GREATER USE OF HANDLOOMS

To
THE EDITOR
Young India

SIR,

All patriotic Indians agree that India should be a self-clothing country, that is that India should not import foreign yarn or piece-goods. The question is as to the best and the quickest means of attaining that object. The charkha has been preached to be the means. We, however, believe that there are easier, quicker, and in every respect better means for accomplishing the object. What are they? Let us declare at once that they are: (1) increasing the number of handlooms in India; (2) preaching that it is the imperative duty of every Indian to be satisfied for the present with comparatively coarse cloths made from yarn produced in India and to avoid using imported cloths and cloths made in India from imported yarn (chiefly fine), however comfortable wearing these clothes may be. A little explanation is necessary. One of the cardinal facts to remember in this connection is that, if the total amount of twist and yarn that is now produced in India without the use of charkha were converted into cloth, it would practically suffice to clothe India from her own produce, supposing the country were prepared to wear coarse cloths only. As a matter of fact, about 143 million pounds of twist and yarn made in India are *exported* every year from India. Convert, i.e., weave this stuff into cloth

[1] *Vide* Appendix II.

in India and prepare the country for making the small sacrifice involved in being content for the present with the coarse cloth thus produced, and the great problem of making India self-clothing within a very short time is solved. Here the first question that crosses one's mind is whether the existing power-looms and handlooms of India would be able to weave the above huge quantity of yarn into cloth. The answer must be in the negative. What then is to be done? The obvious answer is: increase the number of looms. It would be difficult to increase the number of power-looms at once. A large quantity of machinery (weaving) would have to be imported from foreign lands. That means a delay of two or three years, leaving aside for the nonce the difficulties arising from the unfavourable rate of exchange and the recently imposed high import duty on this kind of machinery. To increase the number of handlooms is not difficult. They can be manufactured here in India within a very short time and at a very small cost. From a calculation based on statistics for the year 1919 published by the Director-General of Statistics, which however I do not wish to inflict on your readers, it can be easily shown that it would be practically sufficient for our present purposes, if we multiply our handlooms to twice their existing number. And I appeal to the readers to consider the matter with all the earnest care that the importance of the question demands, and put their powerful shoulders to the wheel.

Calcutta,
19 April

Yours faithfully,
S. B. MITRA

The correspondent seems to ignore the fact that the propaganda of hand-spinning involves that of hand-weaving. India cannot be self-contained for her clothing if the hand-spun yarn could not be hand-woven. But the mere multiplying of handlooms cannot solve the problem. The art of hand-weáving is not dead. There are today more handlooms working in India than power-looms. But they mostly weave foreign yarn. I heartily support the proposition that we should use only coarse cloth and induce the weavers to weave only Indian yarn. The correspondent should also have advised 'the leaders' to appeal to the mill-owners not to export yarn at all. Only it is well nigh impossible to induce the mill-owners to forego the larger profits they make by exporting yarn. If only the mill-owners and the other capitalists took it into their heads, they could certainly bring about a complete boycott of foreign cloth during this year. But even so the problem of hand-spinning remains. It is not enough merely to bring about boycott of foreign cloth. It is absolutely necessary to give the millions of the peasantry a supplementary industry. They must utilize, as they did before, their spare hours

in some occupation supplementary to agriculture. The millions who are living in semi-starvation for want of occupation must find an easy one in their own homes. This is again hand-spinning. What the correspondent urges is going on. The number of handlooms is increasing, the people are taking to wearing coarse cloth. But universal hand-spinning alone can immediately solve the problem of the growing poverty of the masses. Let me put my conviction still more strongly. India cannot become a contented, fearless, and self-supporting India without hand-spinning. It is therefore that Mr. Krishna Rao of Masulipatam instinctively recognized the duty (dharma) of hand-spinning as a sacramental rite. The masses with their clear imagination have certainly recognized it as such. I ask everyone who thinks like Dr. Mitra not to divert the national mind from the central fact. Hand-spinning includes all that the correspondent suggests, but it includes much more. An ocean necessarily includes that which is yielded by a river.

Young India, 11-5-1921

45. *DRAFT OF ALI BROTHERS' APOLOGY*[1]

[On or after *May 14, 1921*]

Friends have drawn our attention to certain speeches of ours which in their opinion have a tendency to incite to violence. We desire to state that we never intended to incite to violence, but recognize that certain passages in our speeches are capable of bearing the interpretation put upon them.[2] We, therefore, sincerely feel sorry and express our regret for the unnecessary heat of some of the passages in these speeches, and we give our public assurance and promise to all who may require it that *so long as we are associated with the movement of non-co-operation*, we shall not directly

[1] At an interview on May 14, at Simla, the Viceroy drew Gandhiji's attention to certain objectionable features in the speeches delivered by the Ali Brothers, and hinted that Government might prosecute them. Gandhiji asked the Viceroy to withhold action and offered to get the Ali Brothers to issue an apology which he would draw up and show him in advance. This was done and certain changes suggested by the Viceroy were incorporated. The statement was finally issued by the Ali Brothers on May 29, with some verbal variations; *vide* Appendix III.

[2] The statement as issued by the Ali Brothers, however, here read: "We desire to state that we never imagined that any passages in our speeches were capable of bearing the interpretation put upon them, but we recognize the force of our friends' argument and interpretation."

or indirectly advocate violence at present or in the future nor create an atmosphere of preparedness for violence. Indeed, we hold it contrary to the spirit of non-violent non-co-operation to which we have pledged our word.

The Bombay Chronicle, 30-5-1921

46. TANGLED BUSINESS

Writing under the pseudonym "Swadeshi", a friend asks me several candid questions. For my information, he has given his name too. He is an educated man and his questions deserve attention. He asks:

Q. Is not every delegate who joined in unanimously passing the non-co-operation resolution bound to implement it, not by stages, but immediately?

A. Certainly, he is.

Q. If he is and yet does not act accordingly, may it not be that such a delegate takes non-co-operation to be merely a toy to play with? Do not such people deceive themselves and others?

A. They certainly do. Not only that, they even harm the non-co-operation movement. They do not carry out the condition of their soldiership. Where the minimum height prescribed for recruitment is five feet, a person four feet tall is not wanted. In the same way, those who continue to be soldiers of the non-co-operation army but do not carry out its conditions commit uncivil disobedience of its law and are guilty of a crime.

Q. If a large majority of non-co-operators were of this type, would you not feel disappointed? Would not your wonderful optimism suffer?

A. The people's test is not yet over. If, however, a majority of non-co-operators remain unchanged even after the 30th June, I would certainly be unhappy. But my optimism would not suffer. As long as I am sure of myself, my optimism will not give way. Moreover, taking everybody else to be like me, I believe that all people will adopt what appears to be the natural and right course. The impostors will leave the movement of their own accord.

Q. Is it not necessary that such delegates be held up to public contempt?

A. If I would not offer such treatment even to General Dyer, how would I offer it to weak delegates? This being a struggle for self-purification, it has no room whatsoever for holding up anyone to public contempt. But such persons may certainly be subjec-

ted to a boycott, that is, may be debarred from being delegates, volunteers or office-holders. I believe that the atmosphere is getting cleaner day by day. There are only a few committees now in which lawyers who have not given up practice still hold any office. There are hardly any students still continuing in Government schools and serving as volunteers. It seems everyone is beginning to understand his own limitations.

Q. Does not the logic which applies to Congress delegates also apply to your followers or those who admire your principles?

A. I have no follower. Or, he is my follower who not only accepts my principles but puts them into practice. There is therefore no sense in describing anyone not acting according to my principles as a follower of mine. A 'follower' of mine needs no certificate. Everyone will recognize him. He is no 'follower' of mine who does not speak the truth and does not act according to truth, who does not strive to be compassionate in speech, thought and action, who does not wear khadi and does not boycott foreign cloth completely, who does not regard the *Bhangi* as his blood-brother, who does not look upon women other than his wife as his mothers and sisters, who is not prepared to lay down his life for the sake of the country, dharma, or truth and, finally, who does not realize his own littleness and behave with humility. To the 'admirer' of my principles also I would apply the same rules. The habit of keeping practice at variance with profession and of tolerating such behaviour has gone so deep that it has become something of a disease. If people who are not prepared to put into practice what they preach stop speaking, I am sure, the world would be spared much sophistry and a good many speeches and conflicts.

Q. Would you accept swaraj if it is gained through the support of these delegates and admirers, who wax eloquent in preaching to others what they never practise themselves? If you did, how long would such swaraj be preserved?

A. There is no question at all of my accepting swaraj. It will be for the people to do so. As a representative of the people, however, I know that swaraj can never be won through such insincerity. The question, therefore, whether or not it would last long does not arise.

We can see that this friend has asked all these questions in deep sorrow. Doubts like his are bound to occur to many other honest men and women. Every non-co-operator should try to set them at rest by his conduct. The cause for delay in our getting swaraj lies in ourselves.

The friend has raised some other doubts also in the introductory part of his letter. Being worthy of our attention, I reproduce them here in the form of questions.

Q. Do not some of your principles demand sacrifices which it is against human nature to make?

A. Not a single item of non-co-operation demands such difficult sacrifice. The sacrifices involved in non-co-operation are easy to make and not impossible for ordinary human nature and it is because of this, I believe, that the people have welcomed the movement. The main principles are: Hindu-Muslim unity, preserving peace even under provocation, total boycott of foreign cloth, daily spinning for a fixed period, contributing money according to one's capacity, treating the *Bhangi* as one's brother and giving up addictions, immorality, etc. In none of these do I see *sannyasa*[1]. I have demanded nothing which other nations have not shown themselves capable of. The requirement of peace will be considered as something new. But the Sikhs have succeeded in meeting it in a limited sphere. On deeper reflection we shall find that the British have also remained peaceful whenever they wanted to. I have gone to the length of conceding that we shall win swaraj even if we accept the need for peace as a matter of policy, as a weapon of expediency. The non-violence of my conception is the weapon of the strong, of the true Kshatriya. We may, however, consider it as a weapon of the weak. Even then, if the people realize that the use of arms is impossible at present, learn the principle of laying down one's own life and give up all thought of killing others, they can have swaraj this very day.

Q. If you advocate non-co-operation with the rulers, why do you discourage those who suggest non-co-operation with co-operators by preventing *Bhangis* and others from serving the latter?

A. It is not the rulers against whom we employ non-co-operation; we employ it against the policy followed by them. Our non-co-operation is not directed against individuals. We have never stopped any *Bhangi* or potter from serving an official, nor do I consider it desirable that we should. How then can we dissuade *Bhangis* and others from serving our brethren who, holding views different from ours, enter Councils? We wish to win over everybody through love. If you would not have it that way, at any rate, we do not want to force anybody to be on our side but want to propagate our views by awakening people's reason and pleading with them. Non-co-operation springs not from hatred but from

[1] Renunciation of all desires and possessions

love, not from weakness but from strength, not from falsehood but from truth, not from blind faith but from faith based on knowledge, from enlightened judgment and from reason; it does not spring from *adharma* but from dharma, from faith in oneself.

Q. Are you only a Mahatma or a statesman as well?

A. In my view, anyone who is a Mahatma is bound to be a statesman. A statesman is one who can serve and protect the State—the people. An *atman* may be *mahan*[1] only to the extent that the person has become a servant of humanity.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 15-5-1921

47. *MY NOTES*

WHAT WORK WE CAN DO IN INDIAN STATES

A friend from Kathiawad asks what people in Indian States should do. The question is being asked more frequently after the States People's Conference in Kathiawad.

We may not, in Indian States, make any comments about the British Empire, and should refrain from putting them in an awkward position. There is no need at all to say here how Satanic the Government is. But, even in Indian States, we can take up the movement against drink, giving up drink ourselves and persuading others to do so. We may certainly introduce spinning-wheels and start spinning. Even there, we may certainly give up using foreign cloth and wear khadi; we can, likewise, give up gambling, immorality, etc.; we can enrol ourselves as Congress members and contribute handsomely to the Tilak Swaraj Fund. The entire amount can be raised by the residents of Indian States if they choose to make the effort. Anyone who labours to get these things done will have done much for swaraj. Those who regard non-co-operation as a sacrifice for self-purification have no problem. If the residents of an Indian State greet the *Bhangis* as their brethren, they are guilty of no disloyalty to the State.

Indian States are certainly not outside India. There is only one question before the entire country. All are called upon to join a holy war. All are required to learn the lessons of truth, fearlessness and peace. It may be necessary in British India to condemn British rule, but there should be no need at all to do so in Indian States.

[1] Great

CRITICISM UNNECESSARY

Even in British India, however, is it necessary to go on criticizing British rule? Personally, I feel that we would be showing our culture in eschewing all criticism. Whatever criticism is necessary, I make myself. Let me assure readers of *Navajivan* that I never fail to criticize the Government whenever criticism is called for. But we cannot mend or end this Empire by denouncing it; we shall succeed in our aim only by doing our duty and reforming ourselves. We have so much to do by way of spinning, enrolling members of the Congress and collecting contributions for the Tilak Swaraj Fund that we can spare no time for other things. We can complete the programme of work by June only if the handful of us who are working give every moment of our time to the foregoing tasks. How, then, can we waste our time in criticizing the Government?

I have even grown weary of the crowds on railway platforms and of their shouting. These things will not bring us swaraj. The time for them is over. They may have been necessary when there was no awakening among the people. But now there is no lack of it. We have now control of the Niagara Falls. We have also discovered how to put them to use. What we have to do now is simply to work on silently to that end.

If it is no more necessary to criticize the Government, it is not necessary to criticize co-operators either. Our criticism consists in our work. It is the experience everywhere in the world that an ounce of practice achieves more than a ton of preaching. Speeches often mirror our deficiencies in regard to practice. The man who talks much hardly acts upon what he says. He who is particular about keeping his word weighs every sentence he utters. Moreover, now that we address our demands not to the Government but to ourselves, whatever criticism we make or discontent we feel should be against ourselves.

VIOLENT NON-CO-OPERATORS

A gentleman from Bhavnagar, who has given his name, reports some painful things about the Jain Girls' School there. It is some time that the letter has been with me but, owing to my constant touring, I cannot cope with my correspondence as fast as I would wish. Though he has given me permission to publish his name, I refrain from doing so as I do not want to make him a target of undeserved criticism in Bhavnagar. I know that we have not yet acquired the strength to tolerate criticism even when it is well-meant. Swarajists must, on the contrary, learn to bear

with malicious criticism even. This friend says that, even on the sacred day of April 6, a crowd of non-co-operators invaded the Girls' School there to get it closed. If just one of them had approached the authorities with a polite request, there would have been nothing to say against the step. But, according to the correspondent, a whole crowd invaded the place and the leader peremptorily demanded that the school be closed. The Head Master started arguing and was answered with a hail of brick-bats. One girl was injured on the head and another was slightly bruised. Just then, fortunately, a non-co-operator who understood the need for remaining peaceful came to the place. He stopped the rain of brick-bats and the attempted coercion. I congratulate this friend. What shall I write about the others? If the account given above is true, they brought discredit on the 6th, broke their pledge and utterly forgot themselves. How can we, who wish to be saved from the policy of making people virtuous by force, coerce anyone?

The correspondent who reported this incident says that, despite this harassment, the authorities of the School studiously refrained from calling in the police for help. I congratulate them on exercising this restraint. Those who violate peace are not non-co-operators, even though they may abide by all other conditions, and a co-operator who remains peaceful in the face of attacks by non-co-operators is, I would say, a non-co-operator without knowing that he is one.

"Even God Cannot Make Gift of Swaraj"

This statement appears in my message for the Satyagraha Week. Shri Rajabali Jhinabhai protests that most people will not understand the meaning of this remark, that it gives the impression that I was even limiting the power of God and may, therefore, have hurt religious-minded people. I count myself a religious-minded man. I believe in the reality of God. I have merely stated a plain fact in plain language and drawn attention to God's law. God has reserved no freedom for Himself to grant a place in heaven to a sinner. One can say that, after laying down His laws, God left things to take their own course. It is because He is Almighty that He has created laws which admit of no exceptions. Swaraj is a state of being of individuals and nations. Just as only a person who eats will have his hunger satisfied, so he alone can be free who throws off subjection. If we do not give up drink and do not discard foreign cloth, if Hindus and Muslims continue fighting with each other, would God make

us a gift of swaraj? Can He? Conversely, if, through force of public opinion, we successfully boycott foreign cloth and put a stop to the consumption of liquor, can we fail to win swaraj? Can anybody persistently transgressing God's laws hope that God will give him a place in heaven? Surely, none. Hence, even our prayer should be not for swaraj but for strength to win it. The very meaning of prayer is the expression of intense longing for a particular goal or state.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 15-5-1921

48. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, SIMLA[1]

May 15, 1921

Mr. Gandhi, replying,[2] touched on the incidents connected with his visit and said Pundit Malaviya had sent him a telegram asking him to come up to Simla, and adding that unless he came the Punditji, in spite of his bad health, would be obliged to go to him in order to bring him up to Simla. Soon after the telegram, he received a letter from the Pundit saying that Lord Reading would like to see him if he (Mr. Gandhi) wanted to see H.E. the Viceroy with a view to put the case of the non-co-operation party before him. Mr. Gandhi saw nothing wrong in putting his case before an official.

Accordingly, on reaching Simla, he sent a letter to the Viceroy asking for an interview which was at once granted. He acknowledged that the Viceroy gave him a long, patient and kind hearing. But he could not say either one way or the other about the success of this interview.[3] He placed before the Viceroy what his party stood for and the Viceroy, in his turn, dilated on the difficulties confronting the administration. The interview might both be called successful and unsuccessful.[4]

. . . [He] said that everything would depend on the people carrying out what they had solemnly resolved upon at the Congress and the Sikh League and Khilafat Conference.

At this moment he could only say that, as long as they stood by non-violence and the spirit of sacrifice for the cause of justice to their country, no power

[1] Gandhiji addressed a meeting of about fifteen thousand people at Idgah ground. He was requested to speak on the purpose of his visit to Simla and the result of his meeting with the Viceroy. Gandhiji's speech was reported in *The Bombay Chronicle* dated May 17 and 19. In the text given here both these reports have been collated.

[2] An address of welcome had earlier been read out.

[3] *Vide* "The Simla Visit", 25-5-1921.

[4] The following paragraph is from the *Chronicle* report dated May 19.

on earth could check them from the attainment of swaraj within this year. They wanted to show to the world that they stood for justice, and nothing but justice to India would solve their problem. He wanted all to behave like those who died at Nankana, freely giving their blood for the sake of their sacred cause and not like Mahant Naraindas bent upon taking others' blood. When this spirit of non-violence and sacrifice came to them, no modern implements of warfare could stay in the way of their liberty.

Referring to the oft-repeated threat of an Afghan invasion, in case the British left this country, Mr. Gandhi said as long as he lived he could not tolerate any part of his country under foreign domination. He believed this was also the view of every Mohammedan in India. He asked Hindus to have no suspicion about Mohammedans' feelings on this point. He wanted every man belonging to any religion to make common cause with them in this fight for liberty.[1]

He spoke at great length on three essentials of success. The first was getting rid of fear, the fear on the part of Hindus of Mohammedans and Pathans and on the part of Mohammedans of the fear and distrust of Hindus. He said the Afghan danger was nothing but a bogey. He had long known the Afghan character. Whatever their weaknesses, he was sure they were godfearing. He was confident that they would never think of a war of aggression. On the other hand, we would never invite the Afghans to help them in their struggle for freedom. On the contrary, if the Afghans came on an aggressive mission, he would undertake stubborn non-co-operation against them, and would lay down his life before parting with an inch of his Motherland.

He again reverted to the essential necessity of casting off distrust from their hearts by the Hindus and Mohammedans and spoke on the second essential, Hindu-Muslim unity. The entente between them was never entered into in a bargaining spirit. The Hindus espoused the Muslims' cause, because they knew it was their duty and because they knew that nobility could only be answered by nobility. It was fatal, therefore, to compel the Mussulmans to give up cow-killing. They were not the only culprits in the matter and the question of cow-protection was never going to be decided by the arbitrament of force. Implicit trust of and hearty co-operation with the Mussalmans would gain in the end everything. Islam was broad-based on nobility, and it would not endure if it gave up its nobility.

The third essential and the greatest one was of non-violence. In this connection, he made a stirring appeal to the Sikhs to emulate the example of Lachhman Singh and Dulip Singh, who had strength enough to fight Mahant Naraindas but who refused to use any violence.

Lastly, he referred to swadeshi and said that though he would never cease to appeal to the *vakils* and the students to give up the law-courts and schools,

[1] The four paragraphs which follow are from the *Chronicle* report dated May 19.

their failure to respond was not going to affect the question, if they carried out the boycott of foreign goods. Complete swadeshi meant swaraj.

Concluding, Mr. Gandhi said the attainment of swaraj depended upon the spirit of fearlessness, sacrifice, non-violence, Hindu-Muslim unity and the use of charkha.[1]

Will our talks yield any result? They may or they may not; the chances are even. We have to pray for God's help to achieve what we wish to. I explained our case to the Viceroy and he listened to me for many hours with great patience and affection. I, too, listened to what he had to say. I heard him explain the difficulties of the British Government. I can only say this—if we adhere to the solemn declaration made, with God as witness, at the Congress session, the Sikh League and the Khilafat conferences, we shall certainly achieve our cherished goal during this year. Nothing is in the hands of the Viceroy. Don't keep on asking what news cables from England bring. Our fight is for honour and justice, and we have to show to the world that we are ready to die for winning justice. God grants nothing without testing us and, before we can get anything, we must emerge successful from the test. Even the worst scoundrel is ready to do anything to get what he wants; you six-foot tall Punjabis, then, if you do not want to crawl again on your stomachs, if not even one amongst you desired to rub his nose on the ground, learn the lesson which our Sikh brethren have taught. Be ready, like them, to stake your head in a righteous cause. Do not be murderers, like Mahant Naraindas. You cannot win swaraj by killing anyone; you cannot solve the Punjab and the Khilafat questions that way. Not by taking anyone's blood but only by giving your own, by acquiring the strength of Lachhman Singh can you succeed in these things.

* * *

I tell you, as long as you are scared of your holy places being polluted or dishonoured by Pathans, you had better bury your *Hardwar* and immolate your womenfolk on the funeral pyre. You may not be able to fight the Pathans, but, instead of running away, you ought to have in you the strength to stand up against them and die. Have no fear of the Afghans, nor of the Muslims; fear God alone. Even in the days of the Prophet, some timid people, seeing the oncoming hordes, told him that they were only a few and asked him in fear how they could fight. The

[1] *The Bombay Chronicle* report ends here. What follows is another report extracted from Mahadev Desai's account of Gandhiji's visit to Simla published in *Navajivan*.

Prophet's reply was, "No, you are not alone; God is with you." I, too, say to you, do not think yourselves weak. If you are brave, the Afghans also will behave well towards you. I know the Afghans. In South Africa, I had many of them as my clients. I have had experience of their sense of honour. I think even bad ones among them fear God. If you regard the Muslims as your brethren, if you trust them, have no fear of the Pathans at all. If they come to attack us, I shall be with you to employ non-co-operation against them too. I shall not let even a little bit of India be seized by them. God will give me strength at that time to offer up my life before they seize any bit. We have become slaves because of our mutual distrust. If the Muslims tarnish Islam, if the crores of them play foul, Islam will disappear. Theirs and ours is a relation based not on self-interest but on honour.

I tell men of all religions that we wish to be bound in a unity of hearts. Are we not so bound to the Christians? Do we not accept the help that men like Andrews and Stokes[1] offer us? We do not desire to make anyone our enemy. We wish rather to give our own blood. If the British remain as servants, as brothers, if they agree to give up their domination and stay on, they are welcome; otherwise they should quit.

In any case, we can get nothing unless we remain peaceful. If you allow yourselves to be provoked, you will lose the game. I have no desire to see General Dyer or Michael O'Dwyer punished, and here, today, on this sacred spot near a holy man's grave, I pray to God that He make their hearts pure.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 29-5-1921

49. TELEGRAM TO SECRETARY, CONGRESS COMMITTEE, SYLHET

SIMLA,
May 17, 1921

SECRETARY
CONGRESS COMMITTEE
SYLHET

GRIEVED. DAS IN CHARGE. COMMUNICATING HIM. SEND DETAILS.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 7526

[1] Christian missionary, social worker and associate of Andrews

50. TELEGRAM TO C. R. DAS

SIMLA,
May 17, 1921

C. R. DAS
RUSSA ROAD
CALCUTTA

WIRE SUM REQUIRED AND ITS PURPOSE.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 7525

51. NOTES

HORNIMAN AND COMPANY

Friends have accused me of indifference about Mr. Horniman, and some have also wondered why I rarely write about the Savarkar Brothers[1]. There is a favourite saying among lawyers, almost enjoying the dignity of a maxim, that hard cases make bad law. I know to my cost how true the saying is. Many a judge has been obliged to give a decision apparently unjust but perfectly sound in law. Similarly, one may say that hard cases make bad non-co-operation. My business as an economical journalist is to deal with such matters only as have a bearing on the one issue before the country. If I mention Mr. Horniman's case or that of the Savarkar Brothers, I can mention it not to influence the Government's decision, but to stimulate the public in favour of non-co-operation. I would be delighted to have Mr. Horniman back as an able and brave comrade. I know that he was unjustly deported. The Savarkar Brothers' talent should be utilized for public welfare. As it is, India is in danger of losing her two faithful sons, unless she wakes up in time. One of the brothers I know well. I had the pleasure of meeting him in London.[2] He is brave. He is clever. He is a patriot. He was frankly a revolutionary. The evil, in its hideous form, of the present system of Government, he saw much earlier

[1] They were sentenced to life imprisonment and deported for their revolutionary activities. They were ultimately released in 1937.

[2] Gandhiji met V. D. Savarkar at a function to celebrate Vijaya Dashami in 1909; *vide* Vol. IX, p. 499.

than I did. He is in the Andamans for his having loved India too well. Under a just Government, he would be occupying a high office. I therefore feel for him and his brother. Had it not been for non-co-operation, Mr. Horniman would have returned and the brothers would have been discharged long ago. Now non-co-operation blocks the way. Those who are really interested in the release of the brothers and such others as are suffering imprisonment and in the return of Mr. Horniman, must hasten the fulfilment of the non-co-operation programme and therefore the advent of swaraj. Meanwhile, we must not only put up with the existing incarcerations, but we must seek imprisonment ourselves, by offending the Government in all just, lawful and peaceful ways.

What are They?

I am writing these notes in Anand Bhavan[1]. I have just been shown a leaflet for distribution among the *kisans*. I resent it because it credits me with an unconditional promise of swaraj during the year. But there is nothing offensive in it. On the contrary it exhorts the *kisans* to remain peaceful even in the face of provocation. It is for distributing these leaflets that five young men have gone to gaol. The leaflets are held by the Magistrate to be seditious, and the young men called upon to furnish security that they will not distribute them. Instead of giving the security, they have preferred imprisonment. This is one clean way of offending the Government.

I have read a notice issued by the Collector of the Allahabad District that Government servants must not wear the Gandhi cap. I would advise every Government servant to wear these beautiful, light, inoffensive caps, and brave dismissal and even imprisonment. I was told whilst in Allahabad that overzealous servants of the Government have even been telling poor people that, if they introduce the spinning-wheel into their homes, they will be prosecuted. If a spinning-wheel can by any possibility be turned into a seditious article, its possession will be another honourable method of seeking imprisonment.

The Zemindars and the Ryots

Whilst the U.P. Government is crossing the bounds of propriety, and intimidating people, there is little doubt that the *kisans* too are not making wise use of their newly-found power. In several zemindaris, they are said to have overstepped the mark, taken the law into their own hands and to have become impatient

[1] House of the Nehrus at Allahabad

of anybody who would not do as they wish. They are abusing social boycott and are turning it into an instrument of violence. They are reported to have stopped the supply of water, barber, and other paid services to their zemindars in some instances and even suspended payment of the rent due to them. The *kisan* movement has received an impetus from non-co-operation, but it is anterior to and independent of it. Whilst we will not hesitate to advise the *kisans* when the moment comes to suspend payment of taxes to the Government, it is not contemplated that at any stage of non-co-operation we would seek to deprive the zemindars of their rent. The *kisan* movement must be confined to the improvement of the status of the *kisans* and the betterment of the relations between the zemindars and them. The *kisans* must be advised scrupulously to abide by the terms of their agreement with the zemindars, whether such agreement is written or inferred from custom. Where a custom or even a written contract is bad, they may not try to uproot it by violence or without previous reference to the zemindars. In every case there should be a friendly discussion with the zemindars and an attempt made to arrive at a settlement. Our capacity for swaraj depends upon our capacity for solving without reference to, or intervention of, the Government, all the varied and complex problems that must arise in the affairs of one of the biggest and most ancient nations like ours.

DISCIPLINE

It is high time that we disciplined ourselves. The demonstrations at railway stations are becoming a menace to the comfort of the travelling public. I am told that some railway passengers who, only a short time before a station demonstration, were praising me, were, after one or two demonstrations at intermediate stations, heard to curse me. I sympathize with them. I had a fellow-passenger with me during the Allahabad journey. Owing to the pressure of the crowds that besieged the station, he was unable to get a cup of tea or go out for his refreshments. I should not at all be surprised if he considered me to be a plague. On my way back from Allahabad, there was an unmanageable crowd on the Kanpur platform, yelling the national cries, pressing towards my compartment and making everybody uncomfortable. The noise continued the whole time. The leaders were with difficulty able to make the crowd sit, but it could not be made to stop shouting and yelling. I was asked to stand near the door to give *darshan*[1].

[1] Sight of a person, place or thing considered holy

.ch to the disappointment of the friends who urged me, I reso-
:ly refused to stir out of my seat unless there was perfect silence.

This din, noise and bustle was due purely to want of fore-
ught, management and organization. It is best now to avoid
demonstrations at stations. We must consult the convenience
.he passengers. If there must be a demonstration, national cries
st be regulated, every facility must be provided for the easy
vement of passengers. The nation must be disciplined to handle
ss movements in a sober and methodical manner. This means
vious training of volunteers and previous discipline of the
sses. It is not impossible to give an elementary training in a few
'rs. Wherever the people have been previously instructed,
y have responded wonderfully well. Without this training, we
'er know when there might be an accident. It is the innate good
.ure of the people that has saved us hitherto from mishaps. But
ler proper training, we should be able to feel absolutely safe and
nfortable in the midst of the biggest demonstrations. We
mot afford to be hysterical or mad.

Sikh Colour

A friend has just drawn my attention to a resolution passed
the Sikh League inviting me to include the Sikh black colour
the national flag. These friends forget that all other colours are
presented on the white strip. We must not be parochial, pro-
cial or clannish. Hindu and Mussulman colours are specially
presented, not so much for the numbers they represent, as for the
t that they have remained apart for so long and that their mu-
l distrust has been an effectual bar against the realization of
tional aspirations. The Sikhs have never had any quarrel with
ndus. And if one has the Sikh colour separately represented,
.y not the Parsi, the Christian and the Jewish? I hope the
:h Leaguers will see the unpractical nature of their suggestion.

I have been flooded with letters suggesting changes in the pro-
sed national flag. I am unable to publish the voluminous cor-
pondence. There is nothing striking in any of the letters. Some
plore the want of artistic beauty about the flag, others would
ıke additions representing Hindu and Mohammedan symbols.
ıe critics have missed the central idea. We must not have any
ligious symbols and we must find a clear and permanent rally-
g object. That is the spinning-wheel, according to the vast majo-
.y who believe with me that we lost our liberty with the loss of
e spinning-wheel, and we can only regain it when we have
vived the spinning-wheel and rejected foreign cloth.

To Correspondents

Many friends who send me urgent wires may consider me to be discourteous in that they get no replies to their wires. The fact is that the telegraph department at Ahmedabad seems to have received instructions to delay delivery of my telegrams. The authorities have the right, if they choose, to put such obstacles in my way. And our movement must be capable of being carried on independently of the use of public departments controlled by the Government. I would advise correspondents not to waste money in sending wires, but transact all their business with me through the post, so long as the regular delivery to me of the post is continued by the Government.

Young India, 18-5-1921

52. OUR NEIGHBOURS

Is not my article on the Afghan Bogey[1] an invitation to the Afghans to invade the Indian border, and thus do I not become a direct party to violence? Thus asks Mr. Andrews. My article was written for Indians and for the Government. I do not believe the Afghans to be so foolish as to invade India on the strength of my article. But I see that it is capable of bearing the interpretation put upon it by Mr. Andrews. I therefore hasten to inform all whom it may concern that not only do I not want to invite the Afghans or anybody to come to our assistance, but am anxious for them not to come to our assistance. I am quite confident of India's ability to settle with the Government without extraneous help. Moreover, I am interested in demonstrating the perfect possibility of attaining our end only by non-violent means. I would therefore strain every nerve to keep the Afghans out of the Indian border, but my anxiety to keep them off the Indian border will not go so far as to assist the Government with men or money.

In my article I have put my position as clearly as possible. For me the existing Government is the most intolerable of all, it is the greatest danger to the manhood of India and I would welcome its *re-formation* at any cost. It is my settled conviction that it is a godless Government. That there are good Englishmen and good Indians connected with it makes it all the more dangerous for India. It keeps the nation's eyes off the inherent evil of it. My attack is not against individuals, it is directed against the

[1] *Vide* pp. 59-60.

system, against the aggregate called the Government. The best of viceroys have been powerless to eradicate the poison of the system. The poison is its foundation. Therefore, I can reconcile myself to all the worst that can happen to India in the place of the present system.

What however I would do is totally different from what I can do. I am sorry to have to confess that the movement has not yet acquired such hold on the soldier class as to embolden them to refuse assistance to the Government in time of need. When the soldier class has realized that it lives for the nation, and that it is a travesty of a soldier's calling when he undertakes to kill to order, the battle of India's worldly freedom is won without more. As it is, the Indian soldier is as much subject to fear as the layman. He fills the recruiting ranks because he believes that there is no other means of livelihood. The Government has made the profession of killing attractive by a system of special rewards, and, by a system of skilfully devised punishments, has made it well-nigh impossible for the soldier, once he is in, to get out without difficulty. In these circumstances I do not delude myself with the belief that the British Government will be without Indian help in the event of an immediate Afghan invasion. But it was my duty, especially when challenged, to put before the nation the position logically arising from non-co-operation. It was necessary, too, to warn the nation against being frightened by the Afghan bogey.

The second part of the question contains, in my opinion, a misconception of non-violence. It is no part of the duty of a non-violent non-co-operator to assist the Government against war made upon it by others. A non-violent non-co-operator may not secretly or openly encourage or assist any such war. He may not take part directly or indirectly in it. But it is no part of his duty to help the Government to end the war. On the contrary his prayer would be, as it must be, for the defeat of a power which he seeks to destroy. I, therefore, so far as my creed of non-violence is concerned, can contemplate an Afghan invasion with perfect equanimity, and equally so far as India's safety is concerned. The Afghans have no quarrel with India. They are a godfearing people. I warn non-co-operators against judging the Afghans by the few savage specimens we see in Bombay or Calcutta. It is a superstition to suppose that they will overrun India if the British post at the frontier was withdrawn. Let us remember that there is nothing to prevent them from overrunning India today, if they wished to. But they are as fond of their country as we

claim to be fond of ours. I must devote a separate article to an examination of the difficult problem that faces the residents near the frontier.

Young India, 18-5-1921

53. LET HINDUS BEWARE

Bihar is the land of promise for non-co-operation. For the Hindu-Muslim unity of Bihar is proverbial. I was therefore distressed to find that the unity was suffering a strain which might almost prove unbearable. I was told by all responsible leaders—both Hindu and Mohammedan—who are not given to be panicky, that it was taxing their resources to the utmost to avoid a Hindu-Mussulman disturbance. They informed me that certain Hindus, by name Gangaram Sharma, Bhutanath and Vidyanand, for instance, had told the people that I had prohibited the use of meat to any Hindus or Mussulmans and that meat and fish were even forcibly taken away from people by over-zealous vegetarians. I know that unlawful use is being made of my name in many places, but this is the most novel method of misusing it. It is generally known that I am a staunch vegetarian and food reformer. But it is not equally generally known that ahimsa extends as much to human beings as to lower animals and that I freely associate with meat-eaters.

I would not kill a human being for protecting a cow, as I will not kill a cow for saving a human life, be it ever so precious. Needless to say I have authorized no one to preach vegetarianism as part of non-co-operation. I do not know the persons named above. I am sure that our purpose will be defeated if propaganda of any kind is accompanied by violence. Hindus may not compel Mussulmans to abstain from meat or even beef-eating. Vegetarian Hindus may not compel other Hindus to abstain from fish, flesh or fowl. I would not make India sober at the point of the sword. Nothing has lowered the morale of the nation so much as violence. Fear has become the part of the national character. Non-co-operators will make a serious mistake if they seek to convert people to their creed by violence. They will play into the hands of the Government if they use the slightest coercion towards anybody in the course of their propaganda.

The cow question is a big question. The greatest for a Hindu. I yield to no one in my regard for the cow. Hindus do not fulfil their trust so long as they do not possess the ability to protect the

cow. That ability can be derived either from body-force or soul-force. To attempt cow-protection by violence is to reduce Hinduism to Satanism and to prostitute to a base end the grand significance of cow-protection. As a Mussulman friend writes, beef-eating, which is merely permissible in Islam, will become a duty if compulsion is resorted to by Hindus. The latter can protect the cow only by developing the faculty for dying, for suffering. The only chance Hindus have, of saving the cow in India from the butcher's knife, is by trying to save Islam from the impending peril and trusting their Mussulman countrymen to return nobility, i.e., voluntarily to protect the cow out of regard for their Hindu countrymen. The Hindus must scrupulously refrain from using any violence against Mussulmans. Suffering and trust are attributes of soul-force. I have heard that, at big fairs, if a Mussulman is found in possession of cows or even goats, he is at times forcibly dispossessed. Those who, claiming to be Hindus, thus resort to violence are enemies of the cow and of Hinduism. The best and the only way to save the cow is to save the Khilafat. I hope therefore that every non-co-operator will strain himself to the utmost to prevent the slightest tendency to violence in any shape or form, whether to protect the cow or any other animal or to effect any other purpose.

Young India, 18-5-1921

54. POSTERS[1]

[*May 19, 1921*]

Poster No. 1: To gain swaraj means to introduce a spinning-wheel in every home and to spin yarn with that. Introduce spinning-wheels in your house this very day. Spinning-wheels and cotton can be had from the National School at Princess Street.[2]

Poster No. 2: Swaraj by means of yarn. If you want to have your share in the battle of swaraj, spin as much yarn as possible. . . .

Poster No. 3: Ordinarily spinning is not a business but a duty. India was prosperous so long as there was spinning. Take

[1] These posters were issued in vernacular bearing the title "Mahatma Gandhi's message". The text has been extracted from the official translation in the Bombay Government Records.

[2] This sentence was repeated at the end of each poster.

up again the work of spinning with a view to make India prosperous again. . . .

Poster No. 4: Nothing else will advance India more than by removing the famine of yarn. . . .

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1921

55. TELEGRAM TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

[*May 20, 1921*][1]

JAMNALALJI
WARDHA

CONGRATULATE SUNDERLALJI[2]. PROBABLY LEAVING TOMORROW FOR BHUSAVAL. WIRING AGAIN.

GANDHI

From a draft: S.N. 7523

56. SPEECH AT RAILWAY STATION

[*May 21, 1921*][3]

People coming to station platforms should bring money with them. We have to complete three difficult tasks and get them off our hands this year. The means for doing this were planned in Bezwada.[4] If the collections do not reach the one-crore-rupee mark before June 30, we shall be disgraced and I shall definitely say then that we cannot win swaraj this year. Swadeshi is making progress, but even in this I see that many persons merely wear a swadeshi cap and want to be taken as followers of swadeshi by virtue of that. I now tell you plainly that I do not wish to meet people who will not give up using foreign cloth. We shall not get swaraj till we have made khadi a dress of culture. If it is true that this movement is for self-purification, then, in addition to wearing khadi, you should give up liquor, eschew immorality, learn to be

[1] Gandhiji addressed a meeting at Bhusaval on May 21; *vide* the following item. It is likely that this telegram was sent a day before.

[2] He was arrested under Section 124A, I.P.C., and sentenced at Wardha to one year's rigorous imprisonment.

[3] Gandhiji travelled from Khandwa to Bhusaval on this date and addressed a crowd at one of the wayside stations.

[4] The reference is to the Bezwada Congress resolutions; *vide* Vol. XIX, pp. 496-7.

upright, see that you do not lose your head as the people of Malegaon did, stop looking upon *Bhangis* and chamars[1] as untouchables and serve them and the Brahmins alike. Do not bring flowers; for swaraj, bring money instead.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 9-6-1921

57. SPEECH AT BHUSAVAL

May 21, 1921

Gandhiji thanked the people for the welcome accorded to him and then told the audience about his interview with the Viceroy. He said:

Both of us frankly expressed our views at the meeting but we should not expect anything much from him. I have no regrets because I had no hopes. It is the people alone who have to win swaraj; no man, not even the Viceroy, can grant it. Swaraj is *dharmarajya*, and it can be achieved soon through the means I have suggested. You must be religious and pure of heart. You must give up drinking and firmly vow to wear only pure swadeshi cloth. Then you will have *dharmarajya*. You must bear in mind that no one who is wicked and of impure heart can succeed in the non-co-operation struggle. Look at Lokamanya.[2] You ought to worship Lokamanya. But you will not worship this great patriot by merely collecting one crore of rupees, which is easily done; you ought to collect one crore of rupees and use it for the attainment of swaraj to which Lokamanya had dedicated his life.[3]

He was the very soul of [the movement for] swaraj, and held swaraj to be his life's mission;—his soul asks you what you are prepared to do for swaraj. Can you not collect a crore of rupees to perpetuate his memory? Swaraj will be nowhere in sight till you have discarded foreign cloth. I shall never step inside a man's house if he does not wear khadi, if he cannot do without fine muslin. Till now I have been telling the Government to do this or the other thing. Now I wish to tell the people what their duty is. I am but their slave. But they can have me as a slave only on certain conditions. They can hope for my services only

[1] Tanners
[2] Gandhiji here pointed to the garlanded statue of Tilak.
[3] The paragraph which follows is an extract from Mahadev Desai's account of Gandhiji's tour published in *Navajivan*, 9-6-1921.

by observing the conditions which I have laid down before them. There can be nothing but degradation in touching [my] feet.

You must adhere firmly to the principles of non-violent non-co-operation. Any violent deed violates your pledge and is to be despised like the brutalities of Malegaon. You must never forget the importance of Hindu-Muslim unity. My Hindu brethren should at this time leave the question of cow-protection to the goodwill of their Muslim brethren and I do hope that the question will be satisfactorily solved, especially when eating beef is not for them a religious necessity.

Sisters should give up wearing fine clothes and should take to khadi. You ought to emulate Sita, the universal mother who, refusing the delicacies placed before her by Ravana, chose to live on fruits.

About untouchability, I have to say that it is not in keeping with the teaching of the Vedas and is foreign to the principles of the Hindu religion. But reforming this system does not mean that we should begin inter-dining and intermarrying.

At the end I have to say that my speech tours will conclude by the end of June and I hope to be able to collect all the money that is needed during the time that is left.[1]

[From Hindi]

Aaj, 29-5-1921

58. SPEECH AT MEETING IN SANGAMNER[2]

May 22, 1921

Today we are fighting the mightiest Empire known. We have three big tasks to accomplish, but our ways do not suggest that we are serious about anything. From the spectacle today, it occurred to me that, if this is how we were working everywhere in the country, India was not fit for swaraj. I bathe in the ocean of love at every place in the country. But love is of no avail until its fire produces strength. I do not like being worshipped and I do not like my feet being touched in reverence. The practice is very hateful to me. It can only bring about India's degradation. The country will not win swaraj through this touching of feet. I

[1] At the conclusion of the speech, a collection of about four thousand rupees was made on the spot. Some women donated their jewellery.

[2] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's account of Gandhiji's tour published in *Navajivan*

want to see India stand erect. I wish to see it stand up thus before all the countries in the world. I want no Gandhi-raj, I want no one's raj, I want only swaraj. I do not, therefore, want people to touch my feet in reverence.

* * *

We have followed Western civilization only in its excesses. We would have done better to imbibe its beauty. This kind of ribbon is used only by women. If you do not know when to use a thing, why do you use it at all? You thought that, along with flowers, a ribbon would add to the beauty; this shows that, in India, our ways of doing things are a curious mixture. The Congress has been showing how we can get out of these. There is no propriety and no thoughtfulness in what you do. Do you revere Tilak Maharaj? He has given us one holy word, and one alone, and he passed away with that word on his lips. The legacy bequeathed by Tilak Maharaj is for the whole of India, but your responsibility is greater than that of people in other parts of the country. What answer will you give to his soul on August 1? If you do nothing else, at any rate adopt complete swadeshi and give up the use of foreign articles in temples. I tell the temple priests that I feel unhappy when they take me to a temple decorated with foreign cloth.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 9-6-1921

59. *FIVE HUNDREDTH STOREY*

I had heard of Simla. I had not seen the place. I often wished to see it but was always afraid to go there. I felt that I would be lost there, that I would be a barbarian among the others.

I have seen the place now. I have come here to see Bharatbhushan Pandit Malaviya, who has taken me under his wing. The house is named "Shantkuti" and I am in the midst of co-workers here. The climate is lovely. Nature has withheld nothing of her riches. These hills are a part of the Himalayas, but I get no peace whatever from outside of me. In fact, if my having peace depended entirely on external surroundings, I would have to run away from this place or else I would go mad.

Simla is named after Mother Shimala, as Mumbai [Bombay] is named after Mumbadevi and Calcutta after Kali. All the three goddesses have proved faithless or, maybe, the devotees have

forgotten them. The mere thought of the Kali temple fills me with horror. How can the place be called a temple at all? In literal truth, rivers of blood flow there every day. Who knows what the thousands of goats slaughtered there in the name of religion say in the court of God? How infinite is Mother Kali's patience? Does she really demand cruel sacrifices? People who offer them tarnish her sacred name.

They are guilty of no little wickedness in Bombay, but no daily evil is perpetrated there in the name of religion. The people who frequent share-markets or madly throw away money on horse-racing know evil to be evil and admit their weakness. Animals are killed in its slaughter-houses for the belly's sake, and not in the name of religion. The knowledge of this slaughter does not make it utterly impossible for one to live in Bombay.

But Simla? Delhi, most certainly, is not the symbol of India's slavery. The place which is the real headquarters of the rulers is Simla. The Simla Municipality told[1] the Viceroy that every year the officials formulated their policies in the quiet and coolness of the Simla hills. We had full experience, in the summer of 1919, of what these policies are. Even the hottest parts of the country cannot give an idea of the temperature of these policies.

After seeing Simla, my views have not changed. No end of money has been spent over the place. Even a proud man like me has had to eat humble pie. The only means of conveyance here is the horse or the rickshaw. I never used the latter while in South Africa, but here I did, thanks to my weakness. All, whether grown-up or young, men or women, use it. The car is justifiably prohibited. The horse-drawn carriage can be used only by the Viceroy and one or two other officials, and this also seems to be justified. The roads in this place are narrow; roads cut through steep hills cannot but be so. Naturally, the plying of horse-drawn vehicles on such roads must perforce be restricted.

What is strange, however, is that the rickshaw has become quite an ordinary conveyance, as if it was the most natural thing for any of us to be yoked to a vehicle! I asked the men who pulled the rickshaw which carried me why they had taken up this work. Did they not have a belly to fill? They queried in reply. I know this reply is not quite convincing; it cannot be said, though, that they take pleasure in becoming beasts of burden. On the contrary, my charge is that it is we who force men to become

[1] Presumably in an address

beasts. Why should it be surprising, then, that we have become the Empire's bullocks?

It is not the British alone who use the rickshaw. We use it as freely as they do. We who join them in turning people into bullocks have, therefore, become bullocks ourselves.

There are four men for every rickshaw. Three of them get Rs. 18 a month each and the fourth, their leader, gets Rs. 20. The slopes up and down along the roads are so steep that, even though there are four of them, the men get out of breath. The rickshaw is made to accommodate only one person at a time. Even this is something to be thankful for. Simla is at an altitude of 7,500 feet. If people understand the implications of the fact that the Government is carried on from such a height, they will know what the Empire means. If in Bombay all the shopkeepers had their shops on the topmost floor in the chawls, what would be the customers' plight? The fourth floor probably goes up to a height of 60 feet. The thirty crore customers of this Government, the country's shopkeeper, have to climb not 60 feet but 7,500 feet! Bombay, we know, cannot carry on its trade on the fourth floor. India's trade is carried on, actually, on the five hundredth floor! Is it any wonder that the country starves? It should no longer seem strange that, in the foothills of Simla, three crore innocent children famish for want of food.

So long as a distance equal to the height of five hundred floors separates the Empire from us, Dyerism must needs be used for maintaining the distance.

Swaraj, if run from this height, will be no swaraj.

But the comparison I have made is not just, a thoughtful person may protest. Maybe the master lives on a height of 7,500 feet, but he posts his employees, the *talati*[1], the *patel*[2] and the *mamlatdar*[3], on the ground floor! There would be some substance in this argument if it were true that the master lived on the five hundredth floor at his own expense. As a matter of fact, however, he lives there at the customers' expense. He recovers the expenses of living where he does and also charges his usual profit. What wonder that the customers of such a business man become bankrupt, become paupers?

The arrangement is costlier than even the practice of carrying Ganga water on the *kavad*[4]. It used to be carried to as far as

[1], [2] & [3] Revenue officials

[4] Pots or baskets slung from the ends of a pole and carried on the shoulder

Rameshwaram[1]. Anyone who has paid for a small-sized pot of it knows whether Ganga water is costly or cheap.

Simla is all congestion. The houses are full, every one of them. Things are bound to be dear. Even water is brought up from 2,000 feet below. One feels embarrassed to use even so much as a jugful of water. In the building in which we stay, we do get water but it takes the carriers, fetching it over a long distance, a whole day to fill enough for our needs. There are no streams in the vicinity of Simla. To win swaraj means to oblige the Government—whether it is British or Indian—to descend from the five hundredth floor to the ground floor and introduce naturalness in its relations with us. The discrimination is not as between white and coloured, but as between high and low. He is a true Brahmin who serves a *Bhangi*, and not the one who rides on the shoulders of one. He is no king who maintains a distance, the height of five hundred floors between him and the subjects. It is in virtue of one's deeds in the past life that one is born for happiness or suffering, as king or beggar. The happy man exerts himself to relieve the sufferings of others, and the king to raise the beggar to his level, which means that, though a king, he voluntarily becomes a beggar. God, the Ruler, earns his title to rule by making Himself the slave of his slave, makes Himself worthy of worship by purifying the sinner. In Simla I saw the reverse of this and my heart bled.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 22-5-1921

60. *MY NOTES*

New Viceroy

At Panditji's request, I went to see him at Simla. His health being indifferent, he asked me to go to him instead of himself coming over to see me where I was. How could I permit him to do so? I myself went to Simla. Panditji told me there that the Viceroy would like to see me. I wrote to His Excellency and told him that, if he wished to see me, I would gladly call on him and tell him all that I had to say. He gave me an appointment. We were together for a long time. He listened, with great patience, courtesy and attention to everything I said. I, too, on my part, listened to him respectfully. The result was that we came to understand each other to some extent.

[1] On the southernmost tip of the Indian peninsula

What the outcome will be, partly I know and partly I do not. It is not in the Viceroy's hands to give us what we want. If he is a good and sincere man and is convinced of what we say, he can help us as a friend. But, otherwise, it is for us to secure what we want. We should have the strength to get it. If a man knows how to take what he desires, the man who will give it to him will not be wanting. Is there any sense in a man carrying with him only a bowl and then complaining against the sea for not giving him a pitcherful?

We should, therefore, acquire the strength to win swaraj, and secure justice on the Punjab and Khilafat issues. We have not gained this strength yet, but we are acquiring it. There are obstacles, like the incident at Malegaon, which lie in our way. Though our failure to win our goal is due solely to our lethargy, we vent our irritation on others. One essential characteristic of non-co-operation is that one should direct one's anger against oneself.

To Co-workers

As a result of my interview with H.E. the Viceroy, I can say this, at any rate, to my co-workers, that they should shake off their lethargy and give up empty talk, demonstrations and speeches and go on working all the time.

We have five tasks before us: (1) eradicating untouchability; (2) stopping consumption of liquor; (3) enrolling Congress members; (4) collecting contributions for the Tilak Swaraj Fund; and (5) introducing the spinning-wheel [into every home].

None of these tasks calls for speeches.

For eradicating untouchability, we should serve *Bhangis* and others like them, go to their homes and improve their conditions.

For stopping consumption of liquor, we should stand near liquor booths and try politely to enlighten intending customers, though, if they insist on doing so, they should be allowed to go in. Every community should pass a resolution forbidding consumption of liquor and boycott those who violate it.

Boycotting does not mean stopping the services of washermen, barbers, etc. It means refusing to accept water or food at such person's place and entering into no marriage connection with his family. Boycott is of two kinds, civil and uncivil. The former has its roots in love, the latter in hatred. In fact, hatred is another name for uncivil boycott. Such boycott has no place in peaceful non-co-operation and must be altogether eschewed. The under-

lying idea in civil boycott is that of refraining from accepting any services from or having any social association with the person concerned. The idea behind the other form is to inflict punishment and pain. We do not want to punish the drink-addict; we want, rather, to express our own grief by refusing to associate with him. This means not to drink water or eat in company with him and not to have any marriage connection with his family. But to prevent people from rendering any services to such a person is sheer heartlessness. Wells and ponds are for the use of all. Services of barbers and washermen and public services like transport should be available to all people, whether good or bad. The barber, the washerman and the water-carrier do not concern themselves with the circumstances of any family before serving it. Even a murderer has a right to be allowed to drink water. In the measure that we thus learn to distinguish between right and wrong, the advent of swaraj will be hastened. I feel the necessity for resorting to boycott for discouraging the consumption of liquor and that is why I have gone into the subject at such length. Uncivil boycott has yielded bitter fruits at many places. Our strength lies in giving up incivility altogether. Once a man has become a drink-addict, he is so utterly enslaved by the vice that he deserves our compassion, and it is only through compassion that we shall be able to reform such persons.

We should not hate even the proprietor of a liquor booth. It is no easy thing for anyone to give up an established business. He should first be able to think of an alternative calling which he can take up. If I can successfully persuade them, I would advise all proprietors of liquor booths to become carders, spinners and weavers. It is beyond all doubt that they can earn from such work all that they need for a living. Women and children can give no help in running a liquor booth. In spinning and weaving, everyone can help and so there will be no question of anybody supporting anybody else. Everyone can make his or her contribution, be it much or little.

To enrol Congress members, to collect contributions for the Tilak Swaraj Fund or to introduce charkhas, no meetings are necessary. What is required is that a large number of volunteers should go from house to house. Unless people start working in this way, it will not be possible to fulfil the programme as scheduled before the end of June.

We have no time even for talking. From my own experience, I know that every minute spent in idle talk or in giving *darshan* or in doing nothing is wasted for ever. We have no time to spare.

To those, especially, who have tasted the joy of working, I would certainly suggest that they should not let a single moment go waste. No moment of our time is ours; we have pledged every moment to the country.

Meaning of Spinning-wheel

Introducing spinning-wheels does not mean our providing every family with one and then doing no more. It really means that we should see that the family concerned works on it in right earnest and starts wearing khadi. Every spinning-wheel should be working for not less than four hours daily. We may set the minimum output an hour at three *tolas* and every town or village should produce yarn at this rate. Only then can it be said that people have taken to the spinning-wheel. This is a matter of people learning to give up their lethargy, of every worker helping the people to do so. This cannot be done by manufacturing spinning-wheels.

We shall get swaraj only when regular work is done in this way.

I was talking to a friend the other day. I asked him why he gave the first importance to the spinning-wheel. His reply was that, though it would certainly bring us economic freedom and make the people self-reliant, its greatest service would be that it would give men and women time for quiet reflection and help people to be calm and pure. The spinning-wheel will have, on those who work it regularly, an effect which nothing else can produce.

Who Can Join?

A friend asks if even co-operators can be members of the Congress. Those who accept the Congress constitution can be Congress members even if they are co-operators. It is my view, however, that they cannot be delegates.

National Flag

The same friend says that all Indians do not have faith in the spinning-wheel and that many people wonder whether it can achieve anything. Should we not then have some other symbol on the national flag? He suggests the letter ॐ[1]. The truth of the matter is that every symbol, no matter what, is sure to be opposed by someone or other. The spinning-wheel is the only thing sym-

[1] *Om*, symbolizing the manifestation of the Absolute as sound

bolizing a power which crores of Hindus and Muslims will accept. Despite the crescent in ॐ, all Muslims will certainly not accept it. I am clear in my mind that the national flag should have no religious symbol on it.

KHILAFAT "NOTE"

Another friend finds fault with me for not commenting on rupee-receipts for the Khilafat [Fund] being used as currency notes. I have said nothing because I knew that the Khilafat Committee itself had taken effective measures to stop it. This is the first complaint I have received in the matter. Thousands of one-rupee receipts have already been sold. But only a few persons must still be using them as currency notes. This mistaken idea did get about in the beginning. The practice resulted in loss to the Committee itself and so, on its own, it took strict measures to put an end to it.

MISINTERPRETING "RAMARAJYA"

The same friend, interpreting the term *Ramarajya* literally, asks if it will ever be possible to establish *Ramarajya* till we have men like Dasharatha and Rama. We only mean by *Ramarajya* swaraj or the rule of dharma or people's rule. Such rule can be established only when the people themselves come to have regard for dharma and learn to be brave. It is the effort of the Congress, of all non-co-operators, to see that the people become so. If the people are to be emancipated only by some king, they will become his slaves, though in himself he may be a man of virtue. What we are striving to achieve, however, is to change the system of Government and the policies and methods of government. Once that is done, we need not worry whether our servants are Englishmen or Indians. We are not even trying to change the British, we are trying to reform ourselves.

SOUTH AFRICA

The gentleman cites the instance of South Africa and asks if we shall not be reduced to the same condition in India as in South Africa. We fought and won there, but today we are again in the same old plight. This is a misunderstanding of the situation. The laws which we fought to get amended were certainly amended. The struggle in South Africa was not for changing the system of government. It was directed merely against specific laws. The satyagraha against the Rowlatt Act would have been hailed as a complete success even if the Act alone had been repealed and

other grievances had remained unredressed. As it is, the Act never came to be used. Since, however, it has not disappeared from the statute-book and a fight on other issues was forced upon us, if we secure justice on the Punjab and the Khilafat issues and bring about a change in the policies and methods of the Government, that at any rate would have been gained. It is quite possible that afterwards new and unforeseen obstacles may arise. But why should that matter? For the brave, occasions for fighting will always arise. Whenever faced with a problem, the satyagrahi has an armoury of weapons at hand—satyagraha in its various forms and he will be able to find one which the occasion may call for.

WHITE CAP

Calling the white cap a Gandhi cap, a Collector in the United Provinces has forbidden Government servants to wear it. I told the many people who came to see me in Simla that, though in Government service, they could contribute to the Tilak Swaraj Fund and wear khadi, that they could replace their foreign caps with khadi caps. But they said that, if they wore khadi dresses and khadi caps, they would be dismissed. I was pained to hear these words of weakness. If wearing a khadi cap is a crime, the right course is to commit that crime and be dismissed from service. If, moreover, there is a large number of Government servants wearing khadi caps, nobody can afford to dismiss all of them. Even if they are dismissed, they should not mind. Have the people not acquired strength enough even to assert their freedom to wear what they choose? I do hope that all people, Government servants and others, will realize the dignity of a khadi dress and wear the khadi cap at any rate.

PERMANENT ASPECT

Non-co-operation has two aspects, one temporary and the other permanent. The latter concerns all people. After swaraj is won, we will not give up khadi and again start wearing foreign cloth, we will certainly not resume drinking and will not undo the changes we are introducing in the system of education. We shall not, however, regard it as violation of dharma to resort to courts of law or attend schools and will feel no humiliation in accepting honours conferred on us by the Government.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 22-5-1921

61. LETTER TO N. C. KELKAR[1]

YEOLA,
May 23, 1921

DEAR FRIEND,

I am getting most restive about the fulfilment of the Bezwada programme. Will you please wire or write to me, so as to reach me, at Laburnum Road on Sunday the 29th instant, the figure for the Tilak Memorial [Fund] collected by your Province to the date of writing or wiring and the balance you expect positively to collect before the 30th June? I expect you have sent your quota to the All-India Congress Committee.

I reach Bombay on the 29th, leave it on the 30th evening for Broach, pass 4 days there, pass 4 days in or about Ahmedabad and then devote the rest of June to Bombay in order to collect as much as I can. If you have any suggestions as to my programme please also wire.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: C.W. 3113

62. SPEECH AT MEETING IN BARSI[2]

May 24, 1921

Our friend has cheerfully proclaimed that Barsi district[3] will easily complete its part of the task. I cannot congratulate Shri Sulakhe on his method of calculating. If every district, every taluka and every circle in it followed his method, everyone in the country would have done his part by giving only two pice. But out of the 30 crores, three crores do not get even one square meal a day. Who will collect two pice from these three crores?

[1] Narasinh Chintaman Kelkar; editor of the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta*; a close associate of Tilak; sometime Secretary of the Indian National Congress; helped Gandhiji in revising the constitution of the Congress in 1920.

[2] Extracted from Mahadev Desai's account of Gandhiji's tour published in *Navajivan*

[3] This should be *taluka*; in Sholapur district of Maharashtra.

And from the crippled and the handicapped? If the residents of Bombay argue that they have given their quota and then offer no more, we shall never succeed in the task we have set before us. We must stop calculating in this way. Every man and woman in the country must ask himself or herself what he or she ought to contribute for raising the total collection in the country to a crore. My question to you is: what is the capacity of the people in your district? Let us learn something at least from the life of Tilak Maharaj for whom we express our reverence. Did he ever think that he should be content to give to the country the minimum that every Indian should? Rather, he gave his all. I ask you how many are left now who will do so? Let alone giving your all, have you given even as much as you can?

God never asks anyone to give more than he can. One who gives less than he can is a traitor to the country and his town. Do not be traitors to yourselves. I do not want you to deceive yourselves. We are to fight a powerful Empire. It deceived us, played false with us, and made us crawl on our stomachs. We cannot end that Empire through deceit and Satanism. Deceit can be met successfully by nobility and Satanism by cultivating love of God. Do not delude yourselves. If you really want to perpetuate the memory of Tilak Maharaj, you should adopt the new method of calculation which I have taught you today and, before the death anniversary of Tilak Maharaj is upon us, win the thing which is your birth-right.

When it was said here that 25 spinning-wheels are working and that the khadi produced from them is sent to Bombay and Poona, I was deeply pained. That the khadi is sent out only means that you want fine cloth for yourselves and will not use khadi. That is why you send khadi to other places. Swadeshi should mean, for you, that you look after your needs. Give no thought to Bombay. My patriotism tells me that I must first make my own home independent, then my town and then my province. Let me tell you that, with your 25 spinning-wheels, you will not be able to give a good account of yourselves in the fight against this mighty Empire. If we really believe in the Congress, we must thoroughly understand the principle of swadeshi. I do feel pained at the fact that lawyers have not given up practice; however, the lawyers becoming fearless and religious-minded will not make the whole country so. Besides, some eminent lawyers have, in fact, made great sacrifices and displayed nobility. Other lawyers, who lack faith and are deterred by the fear whether they would afterwards be able to maintain their families, will also

give up practice by and by. But the position with regard to swadeshi is that, so long as the whole country does not adopt it, the import of foreign cloth will not stop. I cannot deceive myself. I meet a far greater number of Indians than any other person does, but my voice has not yet reached all the 30 crores. Mill-cloth is for the poor, whom my message cannot reach. Only if it is reserved exclusively for them will mill-owners behave worthily. For such people, of course, there is no choice but to use mill-cloth unless they produce their requirements locally. What this requires is not wealth, self-sacrifice or intelligence. All that is necessary is zest.

Maulana Mahomed Ali has said that we laid the foundation of our slavery when we parted with our spinning-wheels. If you want to throw off your slavery, take up the spinning-wheel again. Unless we take to the charkha, it will be impossible to end the oppression of the country and its stark poverty. I ask you, therefore, not to pat yourselves on the back and say that, with 25 spinning-wheels, you have won the day. I fail to see anyone here wearing khadi. We cannot stop imports worth 50 crores merely by wearing khadi caps. You must agree to bear the burden of khadi.

If you want fine cloth, teach your wives, your sons and your daughters to spin yarn of fine count. As recently as 30 years ago, our elders felt ashamed to wear fine cloth. I have still fresh in my mind the sacred memory of my mother. She made it a point to reserve dresses of fine cloth for her daughters-in-law and felt embarrassed when wearing such dresses herself. If you do not adopt the traditional simplicity of India, you cannot resuscitate fine muslins. If you feel satisfied with having enrolled 4,200 members [of the Congress], who will come forward to enrol the starving masses of Bihar? There will be some hope of our succeeding in our task if, in a population of 120,000, you enrol 50,000. Give up the wrong way of reckoning and adopt the right one.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 9-6-1921

63. NOTES

Maulana Mahomed Ali

I observe that the *Indian Social Reformer* rates me for not having said anything about Maulana Mahomed Ali's speech at Madras, and not having criticized Lala Lajpat Rai's at Bombay. I must not answer the inferences and the innuendoes contained in the paragraph. Critics do not know under what difficulties I edit *Young India.* I rarely read newspapers. I cannot even get them during my incessant travelling. But having read this criticism, I purposely procured at Simla a copy of the Maulana's speech. I have only just read it. I have twice read the paragraph criticized, and I am of opinion that it contains nothing in it that is objectionable. The speech is certainly not inconsistent with his interview at Allahabad. In the Madras speech, he simply states the Muslim position. In the Allahabad interview, he has accepted my application and restriction of the ideal Muslim conduct. There is no doubt that if the Mussulmans could take up arms, they would do so in defence of Islam. The difficulty arises because of *our* belief in the impossibility of the Afghans invading to defeat the British without wishing at the same time to occupy India. That may be and will be a good reason for Mussulmans, if they are true to India, not joining the Afghans even if they were able. But we may not dispute the theoretical religious right of Mussulmans to state their correct position. We can only honour them for it. The two great qualities of the brothers are their bravery and sincerity. And I can read nothing but these two qualities in the Madras speech.

Lala Lajpat Rai

Let me take the *Indian Social Reformer* into the secret of my methods. My assistant drew my attention to the hostile criticism of Lalaji's speech and asked me whether I wished to say anything upon it. I had not the text of his speech before me, nor had I seen any criticism. I therefore wrote to Lalaji, asking him to enlighten me on the matter, and suggesting that he should apologize, if a single hasty word was uttered. It has been my privilege on close acquaintance to find him generous, forgiving and frank. He said in his letter that his Bombay speech was a specially considered utterance, and that he had not attacked any person in it.

He had only dealt with the action of the Moderates as a party. He sent me the cutting for my opinion. This was whilst I was in Sind. I was unable to read it and had forgotten all about it, till the *Reformer's* rebuke reminded me of it. I have now read Lalaji's speech and have much pleasure in stating that I find nothing offensive or discourteous in it. It is undoubtedly in Lalaji's fighting style. It is a party speech. He has adopted, by long residence in the West, the Western form of criticism. But it is the best Western form. There is nothing vulgar in it. His charges are not unjustified by the conduct of the Moderate ministers. His worst charge is that they have merged themselves in the bureaucracy. It is a serious charge to make, but the instances adduced by him surely prove it. The Moderates may retort, if they choose, that outsiders cannot appreciate the difficulties of the ministers. But that is just what proves the error of the great leaders who find themselves allied with the Government. They should have known that such would be their lot, or they should now know by experience, that it is no use being ministers, until they have an effective control over the Government policy. All the repression that is now going on is almost as bad as before. It makes little difference that now there is the farce of a trial. The fact is that most of the political sections of the Penal Code are such as to bring almost every non-co-operation speech under them. I believe that if I was charged, I should have to plead guilty to the charge of sedition. It is the duty of a non-co-operator to preach disaffection towards the existing order of things. Non-co-operators are but giving disciplined expression to a nation's outraged feelings. I should like to see a considered reply to Lala Lajpat Rai's strong indictment. In my humble opinion, the speech of Lala Lajpat Rai does not betray any loss of temper, and is quite in keeping with the advice he tendered the youth of the country in his concluding paragraphs.

'A MESSENGER OF GOD'

I have received a cutting, in which I am reported to be credited with being a messenger of God, and I am asked whether I claim to have any special revelation from God. I have already dealt with the miracles attributed to me. As to this the latest charge, I must disown it. I pray like every good Hindu. I believe that we can all become messengers of God, if we cease to fear man and seek only God's Truth. I do believe I am seeking only God's Truth and have lost all fear of man. I therefore do *feel* that God is with the movement of non-co-operation. I

have no special revelation of God's will. My firm belief is that He reveals Himself daily to every human being, but we shut our ears to the 'still, small, voice'. We shut our eyes to the Pillar of Fire in front of us. I *realize* His omnipresence. And it is open to the writer to do likewise.

A Sind Critic

It gives me pleasure always to have criticism from Sind. It is always searching and always courteous. Sind suffers from the surfeit of Western education, and therefore, the youths of Sind readily command my sympathy. They are bewildered to find themselves in the maze of Western ratiocination. I must therefore try patiently to answer Mr. Jethamal's open letter, especially as I claim him to be one of my earliest comrades in satyagraha and know him to be a leader of forlorn causes. I do believe in self-determination. Mr. Jethamal does not know that the Mussulmans do not claim Palestine for the Turks as against the Arabs. They claim Mussulman control of Jazirat-ul-Arab of which Palestine is but a part. They would not mind if it was restored to the Arabs without any outside interference. Mr. Jethamal must know that the present population of Palestine is overwhelmingly Mussulman. He should also know that the British mandate is today being imposed upon Palestine and Mesopotamia in the teeth of fierce Arab opposition.

Unlike Mr. Jethamal, I do believe in the distinctive character of the different scriptures. I cannot be party to putting a strain upon the scriptural loyalty of the Mussulmans, where it is not in conflict with reason and justice.

But I am one with Mr. Jethamal in his fear of theocratic priesthood and its interpretations often given to suit occasions. The Mussulman claim is not based on *Futwahs*[1], but on a Koranic injunction which a child can understand. The Mussulman claim is again based upon justice, even apart from the scriptural authority. Jazirat-ul-Arab was under Mussulman control before the War. No right has accrued to the Christians or the Jews over it, as against the Mussalmans of the world in general and of India in particular. The British mandate is an act of treachery towards Indian Mussulmans and of pillage against the world's Mussulmans.

I must not appropriate the easy compliment Mr. Jethamal pays me of attributing to me the courage of saying that I differ from Shri Krishna in the matter of violence. I have the courage

[1] Decrees issued by Muslim divines

of saying that Krishna never taught violence in the *Gita*. My interpretation of the *Gita* is that it has based a religious teaching on a historical incident, and that it does not deal with an earthly war but it deals with the ceaseless spiritual war going on in the human Kurukshetra. I can understand the *Nirdwandwa* teaching on no other hypothesis. A man who is free from the action of the pairs of opposites is incapable, like the perfect man of the Bible, of injuring any living thing on earth. He kills himself so truly that there is no rebirth for him.

But a non-co-operator is not concerned with this part of my personal belief. He is bound to believe in non-violence as the only true policy for the removal of the three-fold fever of India.

In spite of my firm faith in absolute ahimsa, i.e., innocence, I could reconcile myself to Kheda recruiting.[1] My ahimsa teaches me that I cannot carry the world with me by force of arms. I will not cut off the hands of my children for fear of their hurting others. A man is innocent when he is able to do harm and refrains. India's soldiers must have arms so long as they believe in violence. I invited, during the recruiting campaign those who believed in violence to join the battle and not to keep away, because they had a grievance against the Government, as they were inclined to do. I was against bargaining with the Government as I am against bargaining at any time.[2]

I do not anticipate a time in India or the world when *all* will be followers of ahimsa. Police there will be even in *Satya Yuga*. But I do contemplate a time, when in India we shall rely less on brute force and more on soul-force, when the *Brahman* in man will hold supremacy.

Now it must not be difficult for Mr. Jethamal to appreciate my alliance with the Ali Brothers. I believe them to be men of their word, as honourable as any I have had the privilege of meeting. It is enough for me to know that they observe the vow of non-violence, whilst they are in the movement of non-co-operation. They will no more prefer Afghan rule to British rule than Mr. Jethamal does. I believe that time will enable them to see that India can never, not at any rate within a generation, be free by violence. I believe that India and Khilafat can be free during this very year if India responds to the simple programme sketched in these pages from time to time.

[1] In accordance with his assurance at the War Conference on April 29, 1918, Gandhiji toured Kheda District in Gujarat, recruiting men to the Army to help the British in the War; *vide* Vol. XIV.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 379.

Sannyasa

A pleader who has suspended practice asks whether every non-co-operator should become a sannyasi and renounce the world. I fear, this question has been asked because I appear to lead the life of a sannyasi, whereas the renunciation required by the non-co-operation programme is infinitely less than was required of thousands of Boer women and children during the Boer War, and of thousands of Englishmen, Frenchmen and Germans during the late War. Great success is possible for us with so little renunciation only because our programme is non-violent, our cause absolutely just, and we are so many.

A Dependant's Plight

The friend further inquires what a man who is falsely sued is to do. Well, those who have been falsely charged by the Government have gone to gaol. Those who are falsely sued may, if the plaintiff will not go to private arbitration, make a statement and produce even witnesses without engaging a lawyer. He is likely to have judgment in his favour. But at the worst he runs the risk of having to pay a blackguard. Surely wrong judgments have been given before now in spite of the assistance of the ablest lawyers.

Doubting National Capacity

The third question is, "Do you believe that the constructive part of the non-co-operation programme can attain success without our having a national Government?" This question betrays helplessness. We are delayed in the attainment of our goal only because of this feeling of helplessness. We shall attain swaraj only when we feel self-reliant. Even a national government will have to be the nation's creation; not the nation the Government's. Why should we not stop drink without the aid of the Government, why should we not be able to boycott foreign cloth without the Government's aid? Non-co-operation enables us to show that, in everything that matters, we can be independent of the Government. A Government is an agency set up by the people. The principal has the right to non-co-operate with the agent when he proves faithless. When, on the contrary, the principal feels helpless, he becomes his agent's slave. Such is our present position and we must get rid of it at any cost.

Contemplating Postponement

The last question of the friend is, "In case the call of the Congress does not meet with adequate response, will the attainment of swaraj be proportionately postponed?" I dread to contem-

plate postponement because it betrays distrust in the nation. Somehow or other I feel that the nation will respond in time. But the logical answer to the question undoubtedly is that, if the nation does not make an adequate response to the programme, attainment of our goal is likely to be delayed.

THE CURSE OF BETTING

Babu Bhagwandas, the learned Chancellor of the National University, Kashi, has sent me extracts from *Manusmriti* on the sin of betting. I reproduce them below:

> The King should diligently keep gambling (*dyuta*) and betting (*samahvaya*) away from the State; for these two vices destroy the State and the sovereign themselves. (221)
>
> Gambling and betting are indeed as daylight robbery; and the ruler should endeavour diligently to eradicate them. (222)
>
> That wherein inanimate things are used, that is *dyuta*, gambling; that wherein living things are used, that is *samahvaya*, betting. (223)
>
> He who does these himself, or causes them to be done by others, secretly or openly, may be punished by the ruler with (punishment) up to that of death, at the ruler's discretion, like cheats and impersonators pretending to follow vocations other than their rightful ones. Or gamblers and betters (*kitawah*) may be banished from the land, like those who practise prostitution under cover of dancing and singing and acting, or those who make and sell spirituous liquors and other such cruel deceivers and spreaders of vice and followers of sinful trades. (224-228)

SIND COLLECTIONS REVISED

In my note on non-co-operation in Sind, I gave figures of collections during my tour, but they were all approximate. Mr. Jairamdas[1] has now sent a detailed account, which is given below:

Karachi (roughly)	30,000
Larkhana	1,387
Shikarpur	17,245
Jacobabad	1,001
Sukkur	3,600
Rohri	1,002
Hyderabad	7,433
Mirpur Khas	452
Tatta	500

[1] Jairmdas Daulatram (b. 1892); Secretary, Sind Provincial Congress Committee; for some time Minister of Food and Agriculture, Government of India; and Governor of Bihar and Assam

Dadu	500
Tando Allabyar	615
Shahadadpur	75
Miscellaneous	465
	64,275

Young India, 25-5-1921

64. EFFECT OF BETTING

I hope a woman's prophecy will prove true, and that all who prize India's good and the purity of their homes will give up the racecourse.[1]

Young India, 25-5-1921

65. THE SIMLA VISIT[2]

Many are asking why I waited upon His Excellency the Viceroy. Some inquire why the author of non-co-operation should seek to see the Viceroy. All want to know the result of the interview. I like the rigorous scrutiny of the non-co-operators who, more than Caesar's wife, must be above suspicion. Non-co-operation is self-reliance. We want to establish swaraj, not obtain it from others. Then why approach a Viceroy? This is all good, so far as it goes. And I should be a bad representative of our cause if I went to anybody to ask for swaraj. I have had the hardihood to say that swaraj could not be granted even by God. We would have to earn it ourselves. Swaraj from its very nature is not in the giving of anybody.

[1] This was in reply to the following letter from "A Woman":

The *Deccan Herald* has it that the boycott movement is to spread to the forthcoming race meetings, and that Indians will not be allowed to visit the racecourse on race days. If you really intend to do so, God bless you.

My husband used to be an ideal husband until he was invited by his boss to go to the races with him and unfortunately did so. He took Rs. 10/- with him, met with exceptionally good luck, and brought home Rs. 300/-. But since then he has never won except a few rupees on two occasions, and has often returned home drunk.

May God grant that your endeavour may be crowned with success.

I am sure that what I have stated will be endorsed by many wives who have the courage of their convictions.

[2] Gandhiji met the Viceroy at Simla; *vide* "Speech at Public Meeting, Simla", 15-5-1921.

But we want the world with us in our battle for freedom, we want the goodwill of everybody. Our cause, we claim, is based upon pure justice. There are certain things we want Englishmen to surrender. All these things need mutual discussion and mutual understanding. Non-co-operation is the most potent instrument for creating world opinion in our favour. So long as we protested and co-operated, the world did not understand us. The erstwhile lion of Bengal in his early days used to relate the story of Englishmen who asked him how many broken heads there were in India, if things were really so bad as he represented them to be. That was the way John Bull understood best. The other question the world has undoubtedly been asking is : If things are really so bad, why do we co-operate with the Government in so pauperizing and humiliating us? Now the world understands our attitude, no matter how weakly we may enforce it in practice. The world is now curious to know what ails us. The Viceroy represents a big world. His Excellency wanted to know why I, with whom co-operation was an article of faith, had non-co-operated. There must be something wrong with the Government or me.

And so His Excellency mentioned to Pandit Malaviyaji and to Mr. Andrews that he would like to see me and hear my views. I went to see Panditji because he was anxious to meet me. I hold him in such high regard that I would not think, even if he was well and I could help it, of letting him come to me. As it was, he was too weak to travel to me. It was my duty to go to him. And when I heard the purport of his conversation with His Excellency, I did not require any persuasion to prompt me to ask for an appointment, if His Excellency wished to hear my views. I have devoted so much space to the reason for my seeking an appointment, for I wanted to make clear the limits and the meaning of non-co-operation.

It is directed not against men but against measures. It is not directed against the Governors, but against the system they administer. The roots of non-co-operation lie not in hatred but in justice, if not in love. Gladstone[1] used to draw a sharp distinction between bad actions and bad men. He was accused of discourtesy for using some very strong expressions about the acts[2] of his opponents. He put up the defence that he would have failed in his duty if he had not characterized their actions as they deserved to

[1] 1809-98; Liberal Prime Minister of England, 1868-74, 1880-85, 1886 and 1892-94

[2] The source has "arts".

be, but he did not therefore mean to convey that his opponents deserved the epithets he had used about their acts. As a youth, when I heard this defence, I could not appreciate it. Now with years of experience and use, I understand how true it was. I have found some of the truest of my friends capable of indefensible acts. For me there are few truer men than V. S. Srinivasa Sastriar, but his actions confound me. I do not think he loves me less because he believes that I am leading India down to the abyss.

And so I hope this great movement of non-co-operation has made it clear to thousands, as it has to me, that whilst we may attack measures and systems, we may not, must not, attack men. Imperfect ourselves, we must be tender towards others and be slow to impute motives.

I therefore gladly seized the opportunity of waiting upon His Excellency and of assuring him that ours was a religious movement designed to purge Indian political life of corruption, deceit, terrorism and the incubus of white superiority.

The reader must not be too curious. He must not believe the so-called 'reports' in the Press. The veil must remain drawn over the details of the conversation between the Viceroy and myself. But I may assure him that I explained, as fully as I knew how, the three claims—the Khilafat, the Punjab, and swaraj, and gave him the genesis of non-co-operation. His Excellency heard me patiently, courteously and attentively. He appeared to me to be anxious to do only the right thing. We had a full discussion of the burning topics as between man and man. We discussed the question of non-violence, and it appeared to me to be common cause between us. Of that I may have to write more fully later.

But, beyond saying that we were able to understand each other, I am unable to say that there was more in the interview. Some may think with me that a mutual understanding is in itself no small gain. Then, in that sense, the interview was a distinct success.

But at the end of all the long discussions, I am more than ever convinced that our salvation rests solely upon our own effort. His Excellency can only help or hinder. I am sanguine enough to think that he will help.

We must redouble our efforts to go through our programme. It is clearly as follows : (1) removal of untouchability, (2) removal of the drink curse, (3) ceaseless introduction of the spinning-wheel, and the ceaseless production of khaddar, leading to an almost complete boycott of foreign cloth, (4) registration of Congress members, and (5) collection of Tilak Swaraj Fund.

No fierce propaganda is necessary for solidifying Hindu-Muslim unity and producing a still more non-violent atmosphere.

I have put untouchability in the forefront because I observe a certain remissness about it. Hindu non-co-operators may not be indifferent about it. We may be able to right the Khilafat wrong but we can never reach swaraj, with the poison of untouchability corroding the Hindu part of the national body. Swaraj is a meaningless term if we desire to keep a fifth of India under perpetual subjection, and deliberately deny to them the fruits of national culture. We are seeking the aid of God in this great purification movement, but we deny to the most deserving among His creatures the rights of humanity. Inhuman ourselves, we may not plead before the Throne for deliverance from the inhumanity of others.

I put drink second, as I feel that God has sent the movement to us unsought. The greatest storm rages round it. The drink movement is fraught with the greatest danger of violence. But so long as this Government persists in keeping the drink shops open, so long must we persist in sleeplessly warning our erring countrymen against polluting their lips with drink.

The third place is assigned to the spinning-wheel, though for me it is equally important with the first two. If we produce an effective boycott of foreign cloth during this year, we shall have shown cohesion, effort, concentration, earnestness, a spirit of nationality that must enable us to establish swaraj.

Membership of the Congress is essential for the immense organization required for dotting the country with the spinning-wheels and for the manufacture and distribution of khaddar, and for dispelling the fear that membership of the Congress may be regarded as a crime by the Government.

The fifth item, the Tilak Swaraj Fund, perpetuates the memory of the soul of swaraj, and supplies us with the sinews of war.

We are under promise to ourselves to collect one crore rupees, register one crore members and introduce twenty lakhs of spinning-wheels in our homes by the 30th June. We shall postpone the attainment of our goal, if we fail to carry out the programme evolved at a largely attended meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, and arrived at after full consideration and debate.

Young India, 25-5-1921

66. THE FRONTIER FRIEND

The Punjabis living on the Frontier[1] deserve the sympathy of the whole of India. They are exposed to attacks from the neighbouring tribes, they are defenceless, and from all the accounts received by me, the Government seem to give them little or no protection, and now-a-days the rule for the officers, if anyone complains, is to refer the complainant to the Ali Brothers and to me. If we had charge of the Frontier, I know what we would have done. We would certainly have died in the attempt to defend the unarmed population of the districts. We would have, if necessary, armed the population for self-defence. But what is more, we would have won over the tribesmen and turned them from marauding bands into trustworthy neighbours. But we have to take things as they are. I assume that the Hindus and the Mussulmans are friendly to one another, and that no Mussulman traitorously helps the tribesmen against his Hindu brother. The Mussulman population this side of the Frontier is in an exceptionally strong position to help.

We must not despair of the tribesmen. We have too often considered them to be hopeless. In my opinion, they are amenable to reason. They are godfearing. They do not loot merely for pleasure. I believe that they are themselves coming under the influence of the wave of self-purification that is spreading.

I know that the process of reforming the tribesmen is slow and tedious. It provides poor comfort to those that are robbed of their possessions or their dear ones.

The difficulty is to be traced to the same cause—we fear Englishmen, and we have become slaves. We fear the tribesmen and we are satisfied with our slavery, we are thankful that we are protected by the former against the latter. I cannot imagine a greater humiliation for a self-respecting man [than] to be dependent, for the safety of himself or his family, on those who he thinks prey upon him. I would prefer total destruction of myself and my all to purchasing safety at the cost of my manhood. This feeling of helplessness in us has really arisen from our deliberate dismissal of God from our common affairs. We have become atheists for all practical purposes. And therefore we believe that in the long run we must rely upon physical force for our protection. In the face of

[1] The North-West Frontier

physical danger, we cast all our philosophy to the winds. Our daily life is a negation of God. If then we would but have a little trust in God, i.e., ourselves, we shall find no difficulty with the tribesmen. Only in that case, we will have to be prepared at times to surrender our possessions and, under certain circumstances, our lives rather than our honour. We must refuse to believe that our neighbours are savages incapable of responding to the finer instincts in man.

Thus, consistently with our self-respect, there are but two courses open to us, to prepare in so far as we wish to defend ourselves however weakly against robbery and plunder, or to believe in the capacity of our neighbours to respond to the nobler instinct in man and to endeavour to reform the tribesmen. I apprehend that the two processes will go hand in hand. We must avoid the third at any cost, that is, reliance on the British bullet to protect us from harm. It is the surest way to national suicide.

If my writings can reach the tribesmen, I would certainly urge them to leave their predatory habits. In as much as they loot a single man or woman, they belie the teaching of the Prophet whose name they prize above all others and whom they believe to be the messenger of the God of mercy and justice. It is the duty of every Mussulman and Ulema who has any influence with these simple men to tell them that, if they will play their part in defending Islam from impending danger, the least they can do is to refrain from molesting their neighbours, who have done not only no harm to them but who, whether they are Hindus or Mussulmans, are doing their best to safeguard the honour of Islam.

Young India, 25-5-1921

67. REPRESSION IN THE C. P.[1]

In each province repression is taking its own special turn. In the U. P.[2] the leaders of the movement are being generally left free. Pandit Motilal Nehru, the author of the circular to the *kisans*, is left untouched, but the young men who distributed the circulars are imprisoned, whereas in the C. P., the acknowledged leaders are being picked up one after another and sentenced by an obliging magistracy. The latest instance is that of Mr. Sundarlal. He

[1] The former Central Provinces; the major portion of the region now forms Madhya Pradesh State.

[2] The former United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, now the Uttar Pradesh State

has undoubtedly a hold on the student world which few possess in the C. P. His is the restraining hand, so far as violence is concerned. But he is a courageous and effective speaker. And therefore, in the opinion of the C. P. Government, he must be put out of harm's way. Here is the charge-sheet against Mr. Sundarlal:

> That you, on or about the 2nd day of March 1921, at Kharangama, by delivering a speech (to about 5,000 people), the substance of which was that the British Government in India was being carried on deliberately and dishonestly with the object of exploiting the country and reducing it to a state of abject poverty and helplessness, and that the British Government is responsible for epidemics, famines, destruction of trade and industries, and all other misfortunes of the country, which is being so systematically marched towards destruction, that the pledges given to Mohammedans have been broken by the Government, tyrannies and atrocities of the worst type were practised in the Punjab, and people have consequently lost all their faith in the Government, and that the only remedy for this state of things was complete extinction of British rule in India, which is to be brought about by the use of the weapon of non-violent non-co-operation, brought or attempted to bring into hatred or contempt, or excited or attempted to excite disaffection towards the Government established by law in British India and thereby committed an offence punishable under section 124A of the I.P.C. and within my cognizance.

The charge is clear. It is not for violence done or intended. It is purely for spreading disaffection. There is practically nothing in the charge, which has not been repeated during the past twelve months from a thousand platforms. Indeed, it may be stated to be the creed of the non-co-operator to give voice to the popular disaffection towards the Government and to spread it. Disaffection is the very essence of non-co-operation. It is the belief of every non-co-operator that the Government, meaning always the system, is wicked, it is one of exploitation of India's resources, it has brought on unprecedented pauperism and consequently famine and disease. The system is responsible for India's helplessness. The British ministers have undoubtedly broken their pledges to the Mussulmans. This and much more every non-co-operator does believe, and therefore seeks by non-co-operation to destroy the evil. I congratulate Mr. Sundarlal on the prosecution. Indeed, I envy the position occupied by him. Let the C. P. Government remove all the other leaders of the movement, and yet they will find that, as a result, the disaffection, which they would crush, is all the deeper and intenser for their mad and thoughtless repres-

sion. The duty of the people is clear. They must go on with their programme of construction and thus prepare for the final triumph. We must keep sane in spite of the Government's madness.

Young India, 25-5-1921

68. A KARACHI PROTEST

THE EDITOR
Young India

SIR,

It has pained many a Karachi-ite to read your animadversions on Karachi in *Young India* of the 4th instant.[1] Many of us feel, Sir, that you have unconsciously done our city an injustice. Your remarks, alluding to a local controversy about the accounts of a national school (and not national schools as you write)—a controversy which was the outcome of a pure misunderstanding of one group of honest workers by another group of equally honest, though a little uncharitable, servants of the nation—make painful reading. They cast a doubt on the honesty of some upright and selfless people who have sacrificed their all at the altar of the Motherland and who are as much above suspicion as our great leaders, the Ali Brothers, who, too, some time back, were the victims of a malicious attack by some people. In the present instance, the maligned gentlemen did submit their accounts at two large public meetings and invited all those that required further satisfaction to go to their office and examine their books. That matter was thought to be dead and buried, when it was revived by your references to it in your paper. I fear our adversaries will have an opportunity now to cavil at the movement more freely and exultantly than before. You little know, Sir, how our adversaries—not the Government, nor the Anglo-Indians, but our own kith and kin of the Moderate Party, who are at present engaged in "out-heroding Herod",—turn and twist your utterances and writings (and your not infrequent warnings and snubs to your followers), and how they detach passages out of their context, and hold up non-co-operators to ridicule and derision. Extracts from *Hind Swaraj*, your article on self-control in sexual matters, your letter to Khalsaji, and your threat to go away to the Himalayas if people took to violence, all these are the favourite topics with which the movement and its adherents are ridiculed, and your Karachi reflections will add to their number.

[1] *Vide* "Notes", 4-5-1921.

As for your disapproval of the hartal organized on the occasion of the Governor's visit to Karachi and your reference to him as one of the best governors, I submit, Sir, that despite all that he may have done or not done—which Bombay or Gujarat or the rest of the Presidency may be thankful for, he has done little for Sind, for which Sindhis may join with you in your generous eulogy of him. There never was greater persecution, more tyranny or worse frightfulness in Sind than we have today. Perfectly restrained as you are, even *your* wonted restraint would have been shaken, if you had, during your brief sojourn in Sind, gone over to Sanjhoro, Nawabad and Thar, and heard with your own ears from the people of those places what they had to say about the blood-curdling sufferings inflicted on them by the police and other Government servants. Thereafter, I assure you, Sir, you would have changed your opinion of the Governor, with whose connivance all these frightful things are happening. It was this very Governor, who so far forgot himself as to compare the people with servants and the Government with masters, asking non-co-operators to do what servants ought to do when they are dissatisfied with the conditions of service, viz., "clear out"—clear out of the country. This he is reported to have said to a gathering of "co-operating" notables of Sind. His latest act of 'goodness' was sanctioning the prosecution of our Swami Govindanand who was subsequently sentenced to five years' transportation. May we not then respectfully ask of you, Sir, what heinous sin there was in organizing a hartal on the occasion of his visit to Karachi to demonstrate to him that we of Sind were no more the dumb driven cattle of old, whom a Lawrence with the indulgent acquiescence of a Willingdon could frighten into submission by his high-handedness? That the people had their heart in the demonstration is borne out by the fact that the hartal was complete—even more complete than the great national hartals of the 6th and the 13th.

KARACHI
8th May, 1921

I am, etc.,
GIRDHARILAL KHUBCHANDANI

I publish the foregoing with pleasure. I have only removed the embellishments. I am sorry if I have done an injustice to any school. It is my duty to publish well-authenticated complaints about public institutions. No amount of misrepresentation about them can damage honest national enterprises. As for the Governor of Bombay, I gave my own impression. I am still inclined to think that His Excellency does not know the high-handed character of the doings of the Sind officials. But even if the charges against the Government can be established, I am unable to agree that we may resort to hartal every time an unpopular official visits a

place. I should feel sincerely sorry if the Governor passed the remarks attributed to him. I have believed the Governor of Bombay to be tactful and sober, and it would be a rude shock to me to find that he had made the tactless and hasty remarks reported of him.

Young India, 25-5-1921

69. *REPLY TO MUNICIPAL ADDRESS, SHOLAPUR*[1]

May 26, 1921

Mahatma Gandhi first pleaded his inability to make a speech while standing, and made some criticism on presenting the municipal address to him in English. He said it was his duty to point out such mistakes in his own humble way. He further stated that it would have been in consonance with the present spirit in India had the address been given in Marathi or in Hindi. The time had now come when the municipalities had transgressed their former barriers and they were coming forward to present addresses to him, and the Bareilly Municipality took the lead in this matter. As for the silver casket, he would like some rich man from Sholapur to come forward to buy it, so that he would devote the sale proceeds to the Tilak Swaraj Fund. He was satisfied to see that the Sholapur Municipality was doing its own duty. The idea that the municipalities were meant simply for cleansing the streets must now go and they must take their due share in the body politic. He closed his speech by invoking the help of God to give the Sholapur Municipality the strength and courage to do its duty.

The Bombay Chronicle, 27-5-1921

[1] Gandhiji reached Sholapur by car from Pandharpur at 3.30 a.m. A procession was taken out and the city observed a hartal. At 9 a.m. the Municipality presented him with an address at Ripon Hall.

70. TELEGRAM TO MAHADEV DESAI[1]

BAGALKOT,
May 27, 1921

MAHADEO
CARE MATHURADAS
93, BAZAR GATE
FORT, BOMBAY

SUGGESTED ADDITION MAY BE MADE BEFORE BUT THE PASSAGE AFTER SHOULD REMAIN. YOU MAY PUT "NOW" BEFORE "RECOGNIZE". THE ADDED WORD HOWEVER MAY REMAIN BEFORE "SINCERELY". CIRCULATE TO PRESS AS ADVISED AND WIRE SIMLA YOUR SIGNATURE AS SECRETARY ADDITIONS MADE AND SAY THAT STATEMENT WITH ADDITIONS SIGNED AND CIRCULATED. MOTORING BIJAPUR. LEAVING BIJAPUR TOMORROW AS ARRANGED. WIRE RESULT BIJAPUR.

GANDHI

From a photostat of the original: S.N. 7532

71. REPLY TO ADDRESSES AT BIJAPUR[2]

May 27, 1921

I am glad that Mr. Gundappa was allowed to speak.[3] It is our duty to hear patiently the views of our opponents. I know the feelings of the non-Brahmins and also their cause. I do not say that the Brahmins are not to blame at all. Even the Brahmins do

[1] This was in reply to Mahadev Desai's telegram of May 26/27, reading: Draft signed with only this modification instead of words "but we recognize that certain passages in our speeches are capable" words "nor did we imagine that any passages in our speeches were capable" substituted. And then sentence begins "we however sincerely". Wire instructions express care Mathuradas. For the draft of the Ali Brothers' apology, to which this referred, *vide* p. 93.

[2] Gandhiji reached Bijapur from Bagalkot in the evening. He addressed a women's meeting, and later, a public meeting of some 12,000 people at Thanbowdi Maidan. Addresses were presented to him by the Municipality and the local Merchants' Association.

[3] Gundappa Shabadi, a Lingayat or non-Brahmin, had earlier expressed his community's grievances.

not claim to be faultless. The Brahmins have disregarded the feelings of their religion and have lost the purity of life. They have fallen from the high position which they once occupied and their degradation marked the commencement of the downfall of India. I am a non-Brahmin and I appeal to my non-Brahmin [friends] not to forget their religion and ideals of life because the present-day Brahmins have degenerated. But you may be surprised to know that it is due to the Brahmins that the non-Brahmins have been conscious of the short-comings and agitating for their rights. The Brahmins, however fallen they may be, are still in the forefront of all movements, political and social. It is the Brahmins who exert for the uplift of the depressed classes, more than anybody else. Lokamanya Tilak is revered by all classes of people for his services to the country. One Brahmin gentleman in Andhra has devoted his life to the service of the untouchable classes. The late Mr. Gokhale[1], Mr. Ranade[2] and the Hon'ble Mr. Sastri have all done splendid work for the regeneration of the backward classes. These are all Brahmins. I am convinced that the Brahmins are known for their self-sacrifice at all times. You complain of the Brahmin bureaucracy. But let us compare it with the British bureaucracy. The latter follows "the divide and rule policy" and maintains its authority by the power of the sword, whereas the Brahmins have never resorted to the force of arms and they have established their superiority by sheer force of their intellect, self-sacrifice and penance. None need be jealous of their superiority. I appeal to my non-Brahmin brethren not to hate the Brahmin and not to be victims of the snares of the bureaucracy.

The non-Brahmins are wealthy. Agriculture is in their hands; so also commerce. If they hanker after the public services, the way is made quite open to them by the non-co-operation movement. Non-co-operation is for the good of all, Brahmins and non-Brahmins alike. You say the advice to boycott schools and colleges may be acceptable to the Brahmins who are educated but will be decidedly harmful to the non-Brahmins who are still uneducated. You also say that I am a fine product of the modern education. But I must tell you that the modern education has made cowards of us all. Our helplessness and mutual jealousies are due to this education. It has developed a slave mentality in us.

[1] Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915); patriot, educationist and politician; President of the Congress, 1905; founder of the Servants of India Society

[2] Mahadev Govind Ranade (1842-1901); social reformer and author; Judge of the Bombay High Court. *Vide* also Vol. II, p. 379.

The qualities which you attribute to me are not certainly the result of this education. I have long ago freed myself from the hypnotic influence of the education. I am what I am, by the study of my religious and eternal principles of life and such religious and philosophical books as the *Bhagavad Gita*, *Mahabharata* and *Ramaraksha* compiled by the Brahmins. I ask my non-Brahmin friends to calmly consider these things and I am sure they will be convinced of the truth of what I say.

I and the Ali Brothers live as brothers. And I appeal to the two communities, Hindu and Mohammedan, to live similarly as brothers. The movement of non-co-operation is that of self-purification. We must get rid of the vices which eat into the vitals of our society. We must be ready to sacrifice our life on the altar of the country. We must practise non-violence at all costs. We must follow the noble example set by Lachhman Singh and Dulip Singh of the Punjab. They did not raise so much as one finger in self-defence though they were strong enough to kill Mahant Naraindas.

I am sorry that this district is famine-stricken. Naturally, therefore, you have not been able to contribute liberally to the Tilak Swaraj Fund. But I regret to hear that there are only 1,400 charkhas working in the whole of the district. Charkha is an insurance against famine. The 87 per cent of the population which live on agriculture have no other means of life in times of scarcity. We must therefore introduce charkha in every home. Thereby we shall be killing two birds with one stone. Thereby the swadeshi industry will thrive and it will result in a complete boycott of foreign cloth. If we are determined to follow the path of non-violence and settle the Brahmin-non-Brahmin disputes and the Hindus and Mohammedans act towards each other in brotherly love, and if the charkha finds its way into every household, I assure you that swaraj will be established during this year.

Lokamanya Tilak has taught us that Home Rule is our birthright.[1] We need not go to schools or to the Councils to practise this *mantra*. Charkha will give us the swaraj we require. We have to collect 1 crore of rupees before the 30th of June. I believe it is not a difficult task to collect 1 crore in the name of Lokamanya Tilak.

I thank you for honouring me and for the addresses of welcome presented by the Municipality and the merchants of Bijapur. When municipalities and merchants are alive to their duties, they will

[1] Tilak's famous dictum was: "Swaraj is my birthright and I shall have it."

be able to materially help us to attain swaraj and to obtain justice in regard to the Khilafat and the Punjab.

The Hindu, 3-6-1921

72. LETTER TO HASSAN IMAM

[After *May 27, 1921*]

DEAR FRIEND,

I thank you for your letter[1] and enclosure[2]. You may depend upon my doing all I can to allay excitement and prevent trouble. It seems difficult for me to leave this part of India for this month at any rate.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 7537

73. ADVICE TO PEOPLE OF GAYA[3]

I have heard reports that many Hindus use my name in trying to prevent Muslims from eating meat and fish. In the fight of non-co-operation there is not so much as a suggestion about persuading people to take only vegetarian food, to say nothing of using compulsion for this purpose.

It is violence, not non-violence, forcibly to prevent someone from eating the kind of food he likes to eat. I do not wish even to compel people to desist from drinking.

In peaceful non-co-operation compulsion is forbidden. One who interferes with people eating what they choose to eat commits a crime before all men. This kind of coercion will do great harm to our cause. I hope, therefore, that no one will, in my name or in the name of ahimsa, cause obstruction to people eating and drinking as they want or will advocate taking away from people their meat and fish.

Seizing of animals by force in a fair is forbidden.

MOHANDAS GANDHI

[From Hindi]

Aaj, 29-5-1921

[1] Hassan Imam, in his letter of May 27, had urged Gandhiji to visit Gaya to prevent tension and trouble before *Bakr-i-Id*.

[2] This is not available.

[3] The note was sent to the District Congress Committee, Gaya, presumably in response to Hassan Imam's letter; *vide* the preceding item.

74. TO THE WEALTHY CLASS IN GUJARAT

The 30th of June is fast approaching. In Gujarat, we have not reached even the figure of two lakhs for the Tilak Swaraj Fund. Even in this, the contribution of the really wealthy class is very small indeed.

Do not the wealthy people love doing their duty? And do they not wish to see India able to stand up and face the world? Do they not wish to make their contribution to filling the hungry stomachs of over three crores of men in the country? Is not the good name of India dear to them? Do they not like that India should throw off her slavery? Are they not in a position, if they so will, to take up Gujarat's burden in a day? Is it not possible for the mill-owners of Ahmedabad, by themselves, to raise a contribution of Rs. 10 lakhs in a day, if they so decide?

If they choose, they can do a lot. I hope they will make their contribution to the movement which is progressing apace in the country.

"If we help, the Government will make things difficult for us." I wish that the wealthy classes would shed this fear from their hearts. The days for such fear are gone. And, again, if only one rich man had to give, he could be intimidated; when, however, all agree to give, how can any of them be intimidated?

However, fear is such a thing that, despite one's desire to give, one cannot take courage to be the first to do so. Shedding fears of this nature should also be one of the important results of this big fight. It is my hope that the wealthy classes will be brave and take their full share in the work of national regeneration.

Even if, however, some among the wealthy classes find it difficult to follow the dharma of fearlessness, I hope that they will not give up the dharma of compassion. They will certainly extend whatever help is possible to the famine-stricken. At the time of the virulent outbreak of the plague and when there was a famine some time ago, the wealthy classes were not found wanting. If they do or can do nothing else, I pray that they will, at any rate, take up the burden of famine relief.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 29-5-1921

75. TO GUJARATIS LIVING OUTSIDE GUJARAT

Gujarat has not only to meet its share of the demand made at Bezwada, but also to go to the help of the weaker Provinces, and it is for this reason that I have put down Rs. 10 lakhs as its quota. If Gujarat does not take up this burden, I am afraid we shall positively fail to collect one crore of rupees before June 30.

Gujarat, however, has a third burden to bear. There is drought in some parts of it and help is needed there too. I wish to draw the attention of Gujaratis living outside Gujarat to all these three matters. Wherever they are settled, they must do their duty by those regions—about this there can be no argument. But they owe a like duty to Gujarat. If Gujarat is to contribute 10 lakhs, it can do so only if all Gujaratis living elsewhere too keep Gujarat in mind. If they do, Gujarat can contribute not only the full amount of 10 lakhs but even more.

Parsi and Muslim Gujaratis, if I can persuade them to do their duty, can by themselves make up the amount of one crore.

I wish to lay greater stress on the drought in Gujarat. At the time of the Orissa famine, Gujaratis had made an excellent contribution.[1] It will not be wrong, in fact, if we say that it was Gujarat which met the needs of famine relief then. If so, will Gujarat be doing anything special if it meets such needs nearer home?

My appeal is also addressed to those who do not approve of the prevailing wind in other matters. They can contribute to the famine-relief fund in two ways: by contributing to the Tilak Swaraj Fund or, if they object to doing this, by remitting contributions exclusively for the Relief Fund. In fact, they can adopt any one of three different modes of contribution: (1) The money may be offered unconditionally—all such amounts will be credited to the Tilak Swaraj Fund; (2) it may be offered to the Tilak Swaraj Fund, but earmarked for famine relief—such amounts will be included in the Tilak Swaraj Fund but will be used entirely for famine relief; and (3) it may be offered exclusively for famine relief with the express condition that the amount is not to be included in the Tilak Swaraj Fund.

Even Government servants and others who oppose non-co-operation can, and I hope will, contribute freely with the proviso

[1] *Vide* Vol. XVII.

mentioned in the third alternative. Accounts for all amounts received are published. All work is entrusted to vigilant secretaries and treasurers. I, therefore, earnestly entreat Gujaratis to banish every fear and send in their contributions.

It will be some time before this letter is in the hands of Indians living in East Africa, Japan, England and other places. Hence I appeal to persons living in Gujarat and having relations residing in other countries to send cables to those of them as reside in the countries mentioned above.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 29-5-1921

76. *MY NOTES*

Pilgrimage to Maharashtra

A visit to the province in which Lokamanya Tilak Maharaj was born, the province which has produced heroes in the modern age, which gave Shivaji and in which Ramdas and Tukaram flourished, is for me nothing less than a pilgrimage. I have always believed that Maharashtra, if it wills, can do anything. Its scepticism, however, is ever a cause of grief to me. I always feel that the province in which the best work can be done has done the least. I gather that the workers in Maharashtra hold the same view. After leaving Simla, I went to Kalka and then to Ambala. From there I proceeded to Khandwa in the Central Provinces and thence to Bhusaval, Sangamner and Yeola. I am writing these notes on my way to Kurduwadi. For going there, one has to go from Yeola to Dhond and change trains there. As our train arrived late at Dhond and the connecting train had already left, I got some experience of Dhond as well. I felt that the masses everywhere had the same faith but there were not enough workers. People lack capacity for organization, there is no end to noise and bustle and they get crowds of people to fill station platforms. As for the result, however, I found it poor in Bhusaval, Sangamner and Yeola at any rate, though the people who had invited me to these places were capable workers.

Where have we now the time for all this fuss and shouts of victory and bending to touch my feet in reverence? If we can spare time to go to station platforms, why not spend it in plying the spinning-wheel? Why not use it in collecting contributions to the National Fund? Do we not have to enrol a large number

of Congress members? The position now is that we shall be able to complete the programme before the end of June, as decided, only if we work round the clock. Though two months have elapsed, we have not done even two-thirds of the work, not even one-half.

If we fail to complete the programme of work by the end of June, it will only show that our will and capacity to win swaraj are not great.

The collections at Bhusaval and Sangamner could be taken as on the whole satisfactory, but at Yeola, I must say, the collections came almost to nothing. Yeola is a rich town. It has Gujarati business men settled there for the last 200 years and yet the amount collected there for the Tilak Swaraj Fund was the smallest. It is true, of course, that one person alone in Yeola gave Rs. 20,000 for a national school. But, then, negotiations for the donation had been going on for a long time. The donor, besides, is well known for his charitable disposition. For the Tilak Fund, however, contributions were to be collected from the general public. The total collections from all, men and women, must have come hardly to Rs. 300, while a small village near Yeola, which we passed on the way, gave the same amount.

In a Dilemma

At Yeola I was in a serious dilemma. I was called there specially to receive the Rs. 20,000 mentioned above and to open the national school. We arrived at Yeola at 10 p.m. A public meeting was held at the dead of night, at 1 a.m. I was tired beyond words. After a whole day's journey by car, I had to keep awake. At the meeting, I talked of the national school. While there, I heard that they were going to teach English in the school even this year. To be sure, I was not happy to have to inaugurate such a school but, after expressing my views about teaching English, I said a few words about the starting of the school. I swallowed this one bitter draught. The following day was my sacred day of silence, but I had agreed, all the same, to go and open the school without speaking. And now I learnt that untouchables were not to be admitted to the school. I have inaugurated many schools but I had not, during this year at any rate, inaugurated a single one like this. I had to send word to the managers of the school that I could not go to inaugurate a school of this type, and the result was that I did not. I was faced, in Karachi, with a similar difficulty about inaugurating a swadeshi store. It was stocked with all manner of goods and so I had to refuse to inaugurate it in the same way that I refused to inaugurate the school. I should not be asked

to associate myself with any activities which obstruct the non-co-operation programme or anything else on which I hold strong views.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 29-5-1921

77. SPEECH AT MASS MEETING, BOMBAY[1]

May 29, 1921

Mahatma Gandhi at the outset regretted very much that they had to sit there since 4 o'clock but he was not to be blamed for the delay, as he had been told that the meeting would begin at 7.30 p.m. All his time was at the disposal of the people and he kept nothing for himself.

The present was no time for meetings in this land; it was time for solid action. They might have known that he had been living for about six days in Simla and he wanted to tell them at once that he had not gone to see the Viceroy for the purpose of getting anything. Pandit Malaviya had asked him to go to Simla, and his friend Mr. Andrews also told him that the Viceroy wanted to see him. Therefore, he went to see the Viceroy and what happened there was this. He had told the Viceroy everything that he wanted to say and Lord Reading had heard him with great patience, kindness and calmness. He had already written in *Young India* all that had taken place there.[2] The Viceroy and he came to know each other better now. And after the interview the Viceroy knew what the speaker wanted to attain by means of non-co-operation.

The destiny of Indians was in their own hands; theirs was a plain and simple duty—they had to be non-violent; they had to stand united—Mohammedans and Hindus. They had to introduce twenty lakhs of charkhas. They had to get one crore of members for the Congress and they had to collect a crore of rupees for the Tilak Swaraj Fund. All these things had to be done before the end of June. He was extremely sorry that what was expected of them during the two months had not been accomplished by then, and they themselves were to be blamed for that. It was due to their own want of efforts that they had not advanced very much in their programme. If they could not even accomplish the work set before them by the Congress, how was it possible for them to attain swaraj, and how was it possible to set right their Khilafat and Punjab wrongs? He had great hopes that they would not fail in their duty

[1] Under the auspices of the "F" Ward Congress Committee and the Matunga Residents' Association, a mass meeting was held at Matunga, a suburb of Northern Bombay, at about 7.30 p.m.

[2] *Vide* "The Simla Visit", 25-5-1921.

and he earnestly prayed to God that they might be given sufficient strength to do their duty by their Motherland.

What he wanted of them was that everyone of them brothers and sisters should be a member of the Congress organization. If, on account of fear or any selfish motives, they did not become members of the Congress, they would never be fit for swaraj. If they were not prepared to collect one crore of rupees for the sake of swaraj, how could they ever get swaraj? If they were unable to gather one crore of rupees together for the sake of swaraj, how could they fit themselves for swaraj? If they were unable to get this amount together, then they would not and should not get swaraj as they were unfit for it. Just consider how much money was wasted in this city over theatres, cinemas, and other sorts of enjoyments, and how much in drinks in this wide country. Nearly seventy crores of rupees were spent this very year in drink. If they were able to spend so much money over their vices, could they not get a crore of rupees for swaraj? He would not be content to take the individual share of each man in India which came to about two pice each. They had to collect one crore of rupees and it was their bounden duty to do so. He was sure that Bombay alone was capable of giving that large amount to the Fund.

He had that moment received a sum of Rs. 231 from Mauritius merchants which showed that their brethren in distant lands were with them in their desire for swaraj. That very day his friend, Parsi Rustomji Ghorkhodu had given him Rs. 12,000 for introducing charkhas in this land. There was a bright example for them to follow. They had only one month remaining to do their duty by their country. He appealed to Bombay which was always in the forefront of all movements in this country. They had given the largest sum for the Jallianwala Fund, and Bombay was capable of giving a large sum to the Tilak Fund. Lokamanya Tilak had told them that swaraj was their birthright and they had to win it. If they were once determined to get swaraj—all the 30 crores of them—who could resist their united demand? It was not an impossible thing for them to get together one crore of rupees.

He was extremely sorry that they in Matunga had been able to collect only Rs. 5,000 for the Swaraj Fund. Were they going to deceive themselves that they were doing their duty by collecting such a small amount? Or were they going to deceive their country that they had done their duty by it? At the end of June, they would be offered a test and he hoped they would pass the test successfully on that day. He appealed to the residents of Matunga to give of their best towards the Swaraj Fund.

They could not very well say that they had no money to spare. Did they not spend lavishly and all that they could when they wanted to marry their sons or daughters? Or did they spare their money when they required anything for themselves? The present was the time for India's marriage and they had to give all they could spare for that purpose. They had not to consider how much sum they had to collect. What he wanted was that every one of

ıould give his best for swaraj. No woman had any right to wear any :nt—more than was required by their religion—at the present time. ı should follow the example of Sita when she followed Ramachandra. .d then discarded all her ornaments, and that is what Indian women do now. Did they want *Ramarajya,* then let them give their ornaments ?und? Peculiarly were women fit for such movements; they were capable ter efforts than even men and therefore he appealed to them. If women foreign clothes, ornaments, French and Japanese silks, Manchester ;, how could they get swaraj? Could they not give up those things for e of their country and wear plain khaddar? Many of their countrymen rithout proper clothing, and he wanted every one of them to be clothed y. People, therefore, must consider that khaddar was the best and of cloth. They had to start a spinning-mill in each household, and how possible to do this, except by introducing the charkha? He did not ›ig mills to grind down their men and women. Indians must consider ı to wear foreign clothes and that it was a most improper thing to do. :hey considered that khaddar was a holy cloth they would never attain . As long as they could not produce finer qualities of cloth, they had to .tent with the khaddar. There was nothing better, nothing pure and g more beautiful than khaddar made of yarn spun by their sisters and rs. They had to do all these things to right their Khilafat wrongs and ·ongs of Punjab.

:e hoped that dharma had not entirely disappeared from this city. He ıt that the people of Bombay were fond of luxuries and ease and finery; ıey wanted the good things of this world. But they were not sinful. For ce of swaraj they had to give up all those things. They had to give up ıema, the theatre and the grog shop. They must also give up all kinds :s, adultery. Everyone must consider that every woman, other than one's vas one's sister or mother. He prayed to God that He would give them :nt strength and courage to do their duty by their country in its moment d. Before hearing Mrs. Naidu, he asked them to give liberally to the Tilak ı

?ou must be eager to know the outcome of [my visit to] ı. But I did not go there to get anything. I went there at the :st of the Hon'ble Mr. Malaviya and I explained to the Viceroy ›oint of view. He listened quietly, patiently and courteously :rything I said and the only result was that we came to know other and I could explain to him what it was we desired gh non-co-operation. Actually, however, it is for us to secure :s.

[1] This has been reproduced from *The Bombay Chronicle*. What follows is ·ujarati version of the speech published in *Gujarati*.

We have to do our duty. We have to collect one crore of rupees by June 30 and introduce in the country 20 lakh spinning-wheels.

I have a right to ask you, and do ask, what you have done. If we cannot ensure the performance of our own duty, how can we become fit for swaraj? I have enough faith in the people of India and in God's grace to be sure that we shall succeed in the task we have undertaken. I wish to see how much you do. First of all, be fearless. If we are not ready to sacrifice one crore of rupees in memory of Tilak Maharaj, if we do not have enough honest men to collect this sum, how can we become fit for swaraj? A lot of money is wasted over plays, cinemas, etc. If Bombay decides, it can by itself give a crore of rupees. Everyone should consider the maximum that he can give for the sake of the country. A business establishment in Mauritius has sent me Rs. 251. Mr. Rustomji Ghorkhodu has sent a cheque for Rs. 12,000 from Africa. In the matter of giving money, Bombay stands first. Even for the Jallianwala Bagh Fund, the largest contribution was Bombay's. Wealth comes to Bombay and people can give of it with a free hand.

It is not a big thing for 30 crore people to secure the reins of power in their own hands, but at the moment I shall not go much into that question. Matunga has collected Rs. 5,000, but I cannot be pleased with only so much. You spend so liberally on your sons' or daughters' marriages. Now you are called upon to put a crown on India. This is, indeed, an occasion when none other than the country is being married. Eighty lakhs still remain to be collected. Women should give away all ornaments except those symbolic of their married status. The country will prosper if the women follow dharma. If they want foreign cloth, how can we prosper?

Self-sufficiency in food and clothing—this is what swaraj means.. Our mills do not produce enough cloth. Mill-cloth should be available to those who go without clothes at present. The real meaning of swaraj is that every poor person in the country must have food and clothing, and for this we must understand the nobility of khadi, introduce the spinning-wheel into every home and tell ourselves that it is sacrilege to wear anything except khadi. When khadi spreads everywhere, the religion of truth will be established in the country. Even if the cloth woven from the yarn spun by our sisters is too heavy, we should be happy wearing it. If you follow the advice I have given, swaraj is not far off.

However much Bombay may be given to luxury and comfort, its heart is tender and, when occasion demands, it is ready to run to the succour of the afflicted. A time will also come when liquor and other pleasures will have disappeared and the people of Bombay will love a pure and virtuous life. In conclusion, I shall only say: you, people of Bombay, should give as much as you can.[1]

The Bombay Chronicle, 30-5-1921 and *Gujarati*, 5-6-1921

78. NOTES

The Afghan Alarm

It must be a matter of surprise to many people, as it is to me, that Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal[2] should be alarmed at the Afghan cry raised in interested quarters. He is a believer in full swaraj, and I venture to suggest to Mr. Pal that we cannot establish swaraj in India, till we rid ourselves of the feeling of helplessness. Swaraj means our preparedness to deal with the Afghan and every other menace in our country. The whole scheme of non-co-operation is based on trusting other people, and if they prove untrustworthy, on our being prepared to meet their deceit by self-suffering. I remind Mr. Pal of what he truly said at Allahabad at the Hindu-Mohammedan Conference in reply to Dr. Sapru[3], that the same power of combination, resourcefulness and suffering that would end the present system of slavery would enable us to deal with every other system of a similar nature.

Pan-Islamism, which Mr. Pal fears, is an admirable doctrine in so far as a Mussulman wishes the solidarity of all Muslim states. It would be a dangerous doctrine, if it were to mean a combination of Islamic powers for the purpose of exploiting the world or converting it to Islam by force. No sane Mussulman of my acquaintance has ever entertained the latter idea. The world is growing sick of the domination of brute force.

I assure Mr. Pal that I do not believe in flirtation with any sentiment. I reject those that are bad, and hug those that are good.

[1] At the conclusion of the meeting, Sarojini Naidu along with volunteers went round and collected cash contributions and ornaments from the women.

[2] 1858-1932; educationist, journalist, orator and political leader of Bengal

[3] Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru (1875-1949); jurist and Liberal leader; represented the Government of India at the Round Table Conferences in 1930, 1931 and 1932

I do not believe that serious Mussulmans will welcome Afghan rule any more than serious Hindus would. In writing my article on "The Afghan Bogey", I was minded only to defend the correct position of a comrade, and to warn India against being frightened by the interested cry.

I totally dissent from Mr. Pal's view that the event of an Afghan invasion, or even the mere circulation of a rumour of such invasion will incite a very large part of our Muslim population to lawlessness, if not to open "revolt". On the contrary it is my firm belief that the Mussulmans have too much at stake today—the honour of their religion—to do any such foolish act. As Maulana Shaukat Ali has said so often, the Mussulmans are too shrewd to mix up violence with non-violence. Mr. Pal has done a grave injustice to the Hindus by attributing to "a very large proportion" of Hindus "a desire to settle their own account with the Mohammedans". He has, I venture to assure him, entirely misread the Hindu mind. The Hindus are as much in earnest about the cow, as the Mussulmans about the Khilafat. And the former know that they cannot save the cow—the cherished dream of every Hindu—without the goodwill of the latter. I promise that the Hindus will forget every wrong done in the past by every Mussulman when the latter helps them to save the cow as I know every Mussulman will feel eternally grateful to the Hindus if he finds that he has retrieved the honour of Islam by their voluntary aid.

I deny *in toto* the truth of the proposition laid down by Mr. Pal: that Muslims and Hindus would welcome an Afghan invasion. The protests that have been made against the supposed intentions of Maulana Mahomed Ali are surely enough to convince anybody that India will not tolerate an Afghan invasion.

Mr. Pal suggests that if the Amir invades and if we do not aid the Government, there can only be a revolution. I venture to suggest another alternative. If India as a non-co-operating India does not assist, the Government will make terms with the people. I do not consider the British people to be so utterly devoid of common sense or resourcefulness as to leave India, rather than come to terms with her and heal the Khilafat and the Punjab wounds. That India does not yet possess the power to command attention I know only too well. I have simply suggested a contingent alternative.

Mr. Pal sees a difference between Lalaji's[1] and my declaration at Simla and our previous declarations. I know, none—neither

[1] The reference is to Lala Lajpat Rai.

Lalaji nor I—has ever welcomed an Afghan invasion. But I gladly lay down my own position in categorical terms.

(1) I do not believe that the Afghans want to invade India.

(2) I believe that the Government is fully prepared to meet an Afghan invasion.

(3) I am sorry to confess that if there was an Afghan invasion, every Raja and Maharaja will render unconditional assistance to the Government.

(4) I believe, too, that we as a people are still so demoralized, diffident and distrustful of Afghan intentions, and Hindus and Mussalmans of one another, that many would in mere panic rush to the help of the Government and thus still further strengthen the chain that binds India.

(5) In theory, it is possible to distinguish between an invasion of India and an invasion of the British Government for the purpose of the Khilafat. In practice, I do not believe in the Afghans invading India to embarrass the Government, and being able in the event of being successful to resist the temptation of establishing a kingdom in India.

(6) In spite of such belief, I hold it to be contrary to the faith of a non-co-operator to render unconditional assistance to a Government which he seeks to end or mend.

(7) A handful of conscientious objectors may make no impression on the then current of events, but they will sow the seed for raising a manly India.

(8) I would rather see India perish at the hands of Afghans than purchase freedom from Afghan invasion at the cost of her honour. To have India defended by an unrepentant Government that keeps the Khilafat and the Punjab wounds still bleeding, is to sell India's honour.

(9) My faith, however, in the British nation is such that when we have shown sufficient strength of purpose, and undergone enough measure of self-sacrifice, the British people will respond fully. My reading of history is that they do not yield to justice pure and simple. It is too abstract for their 'common sense'. But they are far-seeing enough to respond to justice when it is allied with force. Whether it is brute force or soul-force, they do not mind.

(10) It is the duty of every non-co-operator to let the Afghans know that he believes in the capacity of non-co-operation to restore the Khilafat to the pre-war status, and that India does not want their armed intervention, that non-co-operators would appreciate their refusal to enter into any deal with the British Government

for holding India in subjection, and that India has none but the friendliest feelings for her neighbours.

English Learning

Elsewhere the reader will see my humble endeavour in reply[1] to Dr. Tagore's[2] criticism of non-co-operation. I have since read his letter to the Manager of Shantiniketan. I am sorry to observe that the letter is written in anger and in ignorance of facts. The Poet was naturally incensed to find that certain students in London would not give a hearing to Mr. Pearson[3], one of the truest of Englishmen, and he became equally incensed to learn that I had told our women to stop English studies. The reasons for my advice the Poet evidently inferred for himself.

How much better it would have been if he had not imputed the rudeness of the students to non-co-operation, and had remembered that non-co-operators worship Andrews, honour Stokes, and gave a most respectful hearing to Messrs Wedgwood, Ben Spoor and Holford Knight at Nagpur, that Maulana Mahomed Ali accepted the invitation to tea of an English official when he invited him as a friend, that Hakim Ajmal Khan[4], a staunch non-co-operator had the portraits of Lord and Lady Hardinge unveiled in his Tibbia College and had invited his many English friends to witness the ceremony. How much better it would have been if he had refused to allow the demon [of] doubt to possess him for one moment, as to the real and religious character of the present movement, and had believed that the movement was altering the meaning of old terms, nationalism and patriotism, and extending their scope.

If he, with a poet's imagination, had seen that I was incapable of wishing to cramp the mind of the Indian woman, and I could not object to English learning as such, and recalled the fact that throughout my life I had fought for the fullest liberty for women, he would have been saved the injustice which he has done me, and which, I know, he would never knowingly do to an avowed enemy. The Poet does not know perhaps that English is today studied because of its commercial and so-called political value. Our boys think, and rightly in the present circumstances, that with-

[1] *Vide* the following item.

[2] Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941); poet and author; was awarded Nobel Prize for literature in 1913; founder of Santiniketan, now a university

[3] W. W. Pearson; had worked as a missionary in Bengal; an associate of C. F. Andrews; sometime teacher at Santiniketan

[4] 1865-1927; eminent Muslim physician and politician who took a leading part in the Khilafat Movement; President, Indian National Congress, 1921-22

out English they cannot get Government service. Girls are taught English as a passport to marriage. I know several instances of women wanting to learn English so that they may be able to talk to Englishmen in English. I know husbands who are sorry that their wives cannot talk to them and their friends in English. I know families in which English is being *made* the mother tongue. Hundreds of youths believe that without a knowledge of English, freedom for India is practically impossible. The canker has so eaten into the society that, in many cases, the only meaning of education is a knowledge of English. All these are for me signs of our slavery and degradation. It is unbearable to me that the vernaculars should be crushed and starved as they have been. I cannot tolerate the idea of parents writing to their children, or husbands writing to their wives, not in their own vernaculars but in English. I hope I am as great a believer in free air as the great Poet. I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the cultures of all the lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any. I refuse to live in other people's houses as an interloper, a beggar or a slave. I refuse to put the unnecessary strain of learning English upon my sisters for the sake of false pride or questionable social advantage. I would have our young men and young women with literary tastes to learn as much of English and other world languages as they like, and then expect them to give the benefits of their learning to India and to the world, like a Bose, a Roy or the Poet himself. But I would not have a single Indian to forget, neglect or be ashamed of his mother-tongue, or to feel that he or she cannot think or express the best thoughts in his or her own vernacular. Mine is not a religion of the prison-house. It has room for the least among God's creation. But it is proof against insolence, pride of race, religion or colour. I am extremely sorry for the Poet's misreading of this great movement of reformation, purification and patriotism spelt humanity. If he will be patient, he will find no cause for sorrow or shame for his countrymen. I respectfully warn him against mistaking its excrescences for the movement itself. It is as wrong to judge non-co-operation by the students' misconduct in London or Malegaon's in India, as it would be to judge Englishmen by the Dyers or the O'Dwyers.

The Brothers' Apology

The brief statement made by the Ali Brothers about some of their speeches will, I know, give rise to adverse criticism in whispers

if not in public. It is best therefore to understand the apology. I am unable just now to go into the whole of the genesis, but I can safely inform the public that, as soon as some friends brought passages in some of their speeches to my notice, I felt that they sounded harsh and seemed to be capable of being interpreted to mean incitement to violence. The air was thick with rumours of their arrest. No non-co-operator can afford to go to prison on a false issue, certainly not on a denial of his faith, i.e., non-violence. I felt at once that I should draw their attention to the passages, and advise them to make a statement clearly defining their position. In the heat of the moment one is likely to use language which may bear a meaning never intended. When one disregards the fear of the law and fears only one's own conscience, one has to be doubly careful. But all the care in the world would sometimes fail to prevent a slip. The Ali Brothers carry a big burden on their shoulders. The prestige of Islam, in so far as they are responsible for it, will be measured by the credit they acquire for the most scrupulous regard for truth and honesty in their dealings, and humility and courage of the highest order in their bearing. My 'alliance' with them, as our friendship has been called, is based upon my belief in their strict honesty, frankness, fearlessness, courage and humility. I know that they are among much maligned men in India. All kinds of motives are attributed to them. They are said to be making me their easy tool. Time, I am sure, will disprove all these charges. But it was necessary that no hasty expression of theirs was used against them to damage their character or good faith. Nothing can be more hurtful to an honourable man than that he should be accused of bad faith. It was in order to safeguard them, in so far as it lay in their power, against any such imputation, that I advised them to make the statement now published. In my opinion, by making it they have raised the tone and prestige of the Khilafat struggle they are leading. They have set an example to other workers. We are not to seek imprisonment out of bravado. The gaol is the gateway to liberty and honour, when innocence finds itself in it. The statement is a warning to all of us, that we who are fighting the battle for freedom and truth, must be most exact in our language. It would not be a bad thing to read our speeches or not to make any at all. One of the noblest of Mussulmans has imposed this restraint on himself. Maulana Abdul Bari[1] is highly sensitive, and can be betrayed

[1] 1838-1936; Nationalist Muslim divine of Lucknow, who took active part in the Khilafat Movement and urged his followers to refrain from cow-slaughter

into using under excitement language which he would not use in cooler moments, and which he often does not mean. At the suggestion of friends he has therefore undertaken as a rule not to speak in public at all. I cite this great example for all of us to follow. The Ali Brothers, by their frank statement, have given the guidance. We must not speak, but if we must, we must weigh our words well, lest we say thoughtlessly what we do not mean, and thereby hurt the cause we represent.

MORE PARSI GENEROSITY

Mr. Rustomji Jivanji Ghorkhodu of South Africa has cabled me Rs. 12,000 for the purpose of distributing spinning-wheels among the famine-stricken people of Gujarat. The reader will recall his munificent donation of Rs. 40,000 for schools. This donation has come in time, because the Famine Committee was hard pressed to meet the want. I hope that those who may not wish to subscribe to the Tilak Swaraj Fund as being for a political purpose will not hesitate to copy Mr. Rustomji's noble example and help the Famine Insurance Fund.

Young India, 1-6-1921

79. *THE POET'S ANXIETY*

The Poet of Asia, as Lord Hardinge called Dr. Tagore, is fast becoming, if he has not already become, the Poet of the world. Increasing prestige has brought to him increasing responsibility. His greatest service to India must be his poetic interpretation of India's message to the world. The Poet is therefore sincerely anxious that India should deliver no false or feeble message in her name. He is naturally jealous of his country's reputation. He says he has striven hard to find himself in tune with the present movement. He confesses that he is baffled. He can find nothing for his lyre in the din and the bustle of non-co-operation. In three forceful letters[1] he has endeavoured to give expression to his misgivings, and he has come to the conclusion that non-co-operation is not dignified enough for the India of his vision, that it is a doctrine of negation and despair. He fears that it is a doctrine of separation, exclusiveness, narrowness and negation.

No Indian can feel anything but pride in the Poet's exquisite jealousy of India's honour. It is good that he should have sent to us his misgivings in language at once beautiful and clear.

[1] *Vide* Appendix IV.

In all humility I shall endeavour to answer the Poet's doubts. I may fail to convince him or the reader who may have been touched by his eloquence, but I would like to assure him and India that non-co-operation in conception is not any of the things he fears, and he need have no cause to be ashamed of his country for having adopted non-co-operation. If in actual application, it appears in the end to have failed, it will be no more the fault of the doctrine than it would be of Truth if those who claim to apply it in practice do not appear to succeed. Non-co-operation may have come in advance of its time. India and the world must then wait, but there is no choice for India save between violence and non-co-operation.

Nor need the Poet fear that non-co-operation is intended to erect a Chinese Wall between India and the West. On the contrary, non-co-operation is intended to pave the way to real, honourable and voluntary co-operation based on mutual respect and trust. The present struggle is being waged against compulsory co-operation, against one-sided combination, against the armed imposition of modern methods of exploitation masquerading under the name of civilization.

Non-co-operation is a protest against an unwitting and unwilling participation in evil.

The Poet's concern is largely about the students. He is of opinion that they should not have been called upon to give up Government schools before they had other schools to go to. Here I must differ from him. I have never been able to make a fetish of literary training. My experience has proved to my satisfaction that literary training by itself adds not an inch to one's moral height and that character-building is independent of literary training. I am firmly of opinion that the Government schools have unmanned us, rendered us helpless and godless. They have filled us with discontent, and, providing no remedy for the discontent, have made us despondent. They have made us what we were intended to become—clerks and interpreters. A Government builds its prestige upon the apparently voluntary association of the governed. And if it was wrong to co-operate with the Government in keeping us slaves, we were bound to begin with those institutions in which our association appeared to be most voluntary. The youth of a nation are its hope. I hold that as soon as we discovered that the system of government was wholly, or mainly, evil, it became sinful for us to associate our children with it.

It is no argument against the soundness of the proposition laid down by me, that the vast majority of the students went back

: first fiush of enthusiasm. Their recantation is proof 'the extent of our degradation than of the wrongness of the cperience has shown that the establishment of national aas not resulted in drawing many more students. The and the truest of them came out without any national o fall back upon, and I am convinced that these first with- are rendering service of the highest order.

the Poet's protest against the calling out of the boys is really ry to his objection to the very doctrine of non-co-operation. a horror of everything negative. His whole soul seems to iinst the negative commandments of religion. I must give tion in his own inimitable language. "R. in support of the novement has often said to me that passion for rejection nger power in the beginning than the acceptance of an hough I know it to be a fact, I cannot take it as a truth. *:hmavidya* in India has for its object *mukti*, emancipation, iddhism has *Nirvana*, extinction. *Mukti* draws our atten- ie positive and *Nirvana* to the negative side of truth. There- emphasized the fact of *dukha*, misery which had to be and the *Brahmavidya* emphasized the fact of *ananda*, joy ad to be attained." In these and kindred passages the rill find the key to the Poet's mentality. In my humble rejection is as much an ideal as the acceptance of a t is as necessary to reject untruth as it is to accept truth. ions teach that two opposite forces act upon us and that an endeavour consists in a series of eternal rejections and ac- s. Non-co-operation with evil is as much a duty as co- n with good. I venture to suggest that the Poet has done onscious injustice to Buddhism in describing *Nirvana* as a negative state. I make bold to say that *mukti*, eman- , is as much a negative state as *Nirvana*. Emancipation from ction of the bondage of the flesh leads to *ananda* (eter-). Let me close this part of my argument by drawing at- to the fact that the final word of the *Upanishads* *idya*) is *Not*. *Neti* was the best description the authors of *iishads* were able to find for *Brahman*.

.erefore think that the Poet has been unnecessarily alarmed negative aspect of non-co-operation. We had lost the f saying 'no'. It had become disloyal, almost sacrilegious, no' to the Government. This deliberate refusal to co-ope- ike the necessary weeding process that a cultivator has to) before he sows. Weeding is as necessary to agriculture ig. Indeed, even whilst the crops are growing, the weed-

ing fork, as every husbandman knows, is an instrument almost of daily use. The nation's non-co-operation is an invitation to the Government to co-operate with it on its own terms as is every nation's right and every good government's duty. Non-co-operation is the nation's notice that it is no longer satisfied to be in tutelage. The nation has taken to the harmless (for it), natural and religious doctrine of non-co-operation in the place of the unnatural and irreligious doctrine of violence. And if India is ever to attain the swaraj of the Poet's dream, she will do so only by non-violent non-co-operation. Let him deliver his message of peace to the world, and feel confident that India through her non-co-operation, if she remain true to her pledge, will have exemplified his message. Non-co-operation is intended to give the very meaning to patriotism that the Poet is yearning after. An India prostrate at the feet of Europe can give no hope to humanity. An India awakened and free has a message of peace and goodwill to a groaning world. Non-co-operation is designed to supply her with a platform from which she will preach the message.

Young India, 1-6-1921

80. *KHILAFAT AND NON-VIOLENCE*

Mr. Vaze of the *Servant of India* has referred me to the article of Mr. Zacharias in his weekly of 5th May last, and asked me to consider the Khilafat from the point of view suggested by the writer. Mr. Zacharias thus puts the question in his elaborate article:

> How could one find an apostle of the principle of ahimsa upholding its very contradiction,—the principle of the Khilafat? I am not concerned with the truth-value of either the Khilafat or the ahimsa principle. But I do say that the one excludes the other; the one thing I do plead for and most earnestly is clear thinking on the part of either side to this problem. It is muddled thinking and the consequent slide into compromise that is responsible for disaster in the recent history of mankind more than any other factor.

After instancing ex-President Wilson's fall, the writer goes on:

> Will the great satyagrahi of the East heed the warning? Will he be faithful to his whole life? . . . Will he not remain true to himself rather than compromise himself, for the sake even of so precious a thing as Hindu-Muslim friendship is, with this antithesis of his, the principle of Khilafat?

This fervent appeal requires a restatement of my position regarding the Khilafat. I would be false to my whole life if, even for securing Hindu-Muslim unity, I compromised the principle of non-violence for which I do claim to stand. It was only when I found that the Mussulman claim was just from every point of view that I plunged myself into it. For me it was a chance of a lifetime. I felt that if I could but show my loyalty to my Mussulman countrymen in the hour of their trial, I would be able to secure everlasting friendship between the two great communities. Anyway I felt that the attempt was worth making. I could not conceive the possibility of having a free India without a real friendship between the two.

But, argues Mr. Zacharias, the Khilafat is based on force. The Khilafat is the earthly representative of Islam pledged to defend it even with the sword. And how can I, a believer in non-violence, fight to sustain an institution that is permitted to resort to physical force for its defence?

Mr. Zacharias is right in his description of the Khilafat. He is wrong in his estimate of the function of a votary of non-violence. A believer in non-violence is pledged not to resort to violence or physical force either directly or indirectly in defence of anything, but he is not precluded from helping men or institutions that are themselves not based on non-violence. If the reverse were the case, I would, for instance, be precluded from helping India to attain swaraj because the future Parliament of India under swaraj, I know for certain, will be having some military and police forces, or to take a domestic illustration, I may not help a son to secure justice, because forsooth he is not a believer in non-violence.

Mr. Zacharias's proposition will reduce all commerce by a believer in non-violence to an impossibility. And there are not wanting men who do believe that complete non-violence means complete cessation of all activity.

Not such, however, is my doctrine of non-violence. My business is to refrain from doing any violence myself, and to induce by persuasion and service as many of God's creatures as I can to join me in the belief and practice. But I would be untrue to my faith if I refused to assist in a just cause any men or measures that did not entirely coincide with the principle of non-violence. I would be promoting violence, if finding the Mussulmans to be in the right, I did not assist them by means strictly non-violent against those who had treacherously plotted the destruction of the dignity of Islam. Even when both parties believe in violence, there is often such a thing as justice on one side or the other. A robbed

man has justice on his side, even though he may be[1] preparing to regain the lost property by force. And it would be accounted as a triumph of non-violence if the injured party could be persuaded to regain his property by methods of satyagraha, i.e., love or soul-force rather than a free fight.

Of course it is open to Mr. Zacharias to reject my claim as a devotee of non-violence, in view of all the limitations I have mentioned. I can only suggest to him that life is a very complex thing, and truth and non-violence present problems which often defy analysis and judgment. One discovers truth and the method of applying the only legitimate means of vindicating it, i.e., satyagraha or soul-force, by patient endeavour and silent prayer. I can only assure friends that I spare no pains to grope my way to the right, and that humble but constant endeavour and silent prayer are always my two trusty companions along the weary but beautiful path that all seekers must tread.

Young India, 1-6-1921

81. SPEECH AT GUJARAT POLITICAL CONFERENCE, BROACH[2]

June 1, 1921

This is a straightforward, simple resolution which even a child can understand. On our success in implementing it will depend whether or not the country is to have swaraj, the Khilafat issue is to be settled and we are to get justice in regard to the Punjab. I request my sisters and brothers of Gujarat to remember the last year. We passed then the non-co-operation resolution before the Congress had done so. Even before there was any question of justice for the Punjab or of swaraj, we, Hindus and Muslims of Gujarat, had decided that we would seek a solution of the Khilafat issue through soul-force. Even if the country as a whole did not realize that a satisfactory Khilafat settlement implied a solution of the questions relating to the Punjab and the demand for swaraj, we had decided that we Gujaratis would sacrifice our all to get the Khilafat problem settled. I want you to call to mind the faith which Gujarat showed on those occa-

[1] The source has "lie".

[2] The speech was delivered by Gandhiji in moving the second resolution of the Conference, advocating vigorous efforts to complete, before June 30, the programme laid down at the Bezwada Congress.

sions. Shri Vithalbhai has taunted us with failure to do our duty, to make our full contribution. We shall have deserved the taunt if we do not do our duty. If we determine, however, we can do that duty and, in 30 days, will have absolved ourselves of the charge. If my brothers and sisters attending this Conference as delegates pay no attention to what the rest of the country does but every moment of the day think of their own duty in Gujarat, we shall certainly succeed in raising 10 lakh rupees, in putting into commission one lakh spinning-wheels and enrolling three lakh members.

It has been asked how the Government is likely to quit because of the spinning-wheel. The reply is that it will not do so merely at the sight of the spinning-wheel, but that, when it sees the faith in yourselves which you will have displayed to the world by starting 20 lakh spinning-wheels within the time fixed, it will come down on its knees. Our success in doing this will be a measure of our strength. When you have done this, the world will have realized, and so will have the Government, that you have faith in yourselves, that you really mean to have swaraj. It will not be necessary for us then to ask the army to lay down arms and the people to withhold taxes. So long as the country has not acquired such faith in itself, it will find that the spinning-wheel programme is in fact as difficult to carry out as it seems easy. When we have fully implemented it, no one in the country will go hungry and no woman will be obliged to sell her honour for getting work. India will then be enjoying *dharmarajya*, *Ramarajya* or *Khudarajya*. It will be a test of Gujarat's strength whether it succeeds in starting one lakh spinning-wheels, enrolling three lakh members and collecting 10 lakh rupees. The question has also been asked why Gujarat should be burdened with the responsibility of raising so much when its share should be three lakhs and no more. We have made Gujarat the foundation on which this struggle is to rest, and who does not know that the foundation carries the heaviest weight? Hence it is that its quota is fixed at a relatively high figure. If all of us have faith in ourselves, collecting 10 lakhs is no difficult task. If we in Gujarat do not show such faith, with what face can I approach business men in Bombay? We should even lay down our lives to fulfil the programme decided upon at Bezwada. To be sure, we had better die if the task is not completed by June 30. This is the key to swaraj. As soon as this Empire discovers that India has mastered this key, it will either quit or remain here as a servant of the people.

Someone told Maulana Mahomed Ali at Calcutta that people described the idea of winning swaraj with the help of the spinning

programme as attempting a miracle. The Maulana answered that perhaps it was so, but, he asked, which was a greater miracle, this one or the fact that a handful of whites coming from six thousand miles away ruled over 33 crores? To get swaraj, we shall need faith in ourselves and shall have to become united. If we can have priests, like Gujaratis, who give 10 lakhs for the right to worship in the great temple that is India, which includes mosques for Muslims, *gurudwaras* for Sikhs and temples for Hindus and for Parsis, that would mean that we are fit for swaraj. It will serve our purpose even if Gujarat comes forward alone to fight unaided. If we cannot show this capacity for organization, if we are not ready to make this sacrifice, we had better give up talking about swaraj. There is nothing in this which means embracing beggary. If you, Gujarati sisters, decide by yourselves to see to this, you can tomorrow produce 10 lakh rupees from Gujarat. Today, when India is a helpless widow, what right have we to adorn ourselves with jewellery or fine dresses? When thousands are dying of hunger, how can we deck ourselves in gold and silver? If all of you, ladies, keep only as many articles of jewellery as are customary for a married woman to wear and give away the rest, we should have the sum of 10 lakhs in an hour. The day women in Gujarat show this spirit, the very gods in heaven will come down and watch. The women should learn this holy secret of swaraj, of *swadharma*, that at the present time they can preserve their dignity only by putting away their adornments.

We lack faith in ourselves; some put excessive faith in me. They think Gandhi will manage somehow to raise one crore before June 30. Let me tell you, however, that this is an entirely groundless belief. Even if Gandhi had such strength, the swaraj won through his strength would be Gandhi's rule and not swaraj, and be sure Gandhi's rule will be no better than a monster's rule. What Gandhi desires is that everyone should have Gandhi's strength and Gandhi's faith in himself, and be free from his defects and weaknesses. I do not desire my rule, I want swaraj. I want you to have the courage which we three[1] have and the same unity of heart which binds us.

I have also known men who gently reasoned with their wives and got from them their jewellery for the country. Think over this, you men, all of you. Form a resolution that you will plead with your sisters and wives and persuade them to part with their ornaments. Everyone should start with his home. In any

[1] That is, he himself and the Ali Brothers

good cause one should start with the home. We shall be able to achieve nothing so long as we spare our home and keep it out of such things. I suggest to all the delegates present here that they live as fakirs, make do with a mere *langoti*[1], work day and night to collect 10 lakhs and only then come and say that they did not succeed. At that time, if at all such a time comes, the rich will themselves feel ashamed. We only need to have the fakir's faith.

I am not asking you to live as fakirs for all time. The sacrifices I am asking you to make are much less heavy than what the British men and women made during the last War, than what the Boers, generally regarded as uncivilized, made in South Africa, or than those made by the Arabs. They gave their dear lives for the sake of their motherland. They told the British that they did not want the trams, motor-cars and railways promised by the latter, that their land was dear to them. You should give the much less I am asking you to give in the same spirit in which the Arabs sacrificed themselves.

When we have secured swaraj, you may wear diamonds and pearls and all else by way of adornment. I shall not grudge you those things then. At present I do. Though I have risen above uncharitable thoughts to a great extent, I do get such thoughts when I see anyone in fine dress or jewellery while the country is in its present degraded state. I ask myself what the reason could be that these persons do not understand. Take up this work forthwith today. It will be more than enough if you return from the holy banks of the Narmada with this spirit in you. Come what may, do not stop working to advance the good of both Hindus and Muslims, do not give up working for the protection of dharma. If you spend on the building of this great temple, if on this cause, far more sacred than a marriage, you spend as much as you do on building other temples and on the marriage of a son or daughter, collecting 10 lakhs will be no difficult task. If any poor persons happen to have no money to pay, give four annas on their behalf and get their names enrolled on the Congress register. Even the spinning-wheel programme will be child's play if we enlist the services of carpenters and blacksmiths for the cause. I venture to assert that, even if women alone go out and work all the thirty days of the month, collecting 10 lakhs will be mere fun for them. I am weary of making speeches. I have not, however, lost my faith in the women of Gujarat. They are so pure, have such faith, that they are moved the moment they hear any-

[1] A strip of cloth worn as a codpiece

one talk about *dharmarajya*. My faith in them has come from the way they rain jewellery on me.

I owe my faith to the women and to the *Bhangis*. Only a few days again, a Parsi friend sent me Rs. 12,000. This friend ago, is no other than Shri Rustomjee of South Africa. He has less money than the Tatas, but has a larger heart. I have had no time even to acknowledge the gift. It is such persons who have given me the faith I have.

We shall not get our swaraj from Simla. We shall have it the day we are ready to lay down our lives for the flag that is fluttering here, this flag with stripes of saffron, green and white and with the emblem of a spinning-wheel. By all means talk and explain your point of view to any Englishman who invites you to do so, but understand that you will get swaraj through your own strength. This is the most auspicious hour. If we disregard it, India will have proved herself as foolish as the man who should go to wash his face when Lakshmi would put a *tilak* on his forehead. Think of this Conference as the auspicious hour and use it so. If we take a resolute pledge and work, getting ready to lay down our lives, justice for the Punjab, settlement of the Khilafat issue and swaraj, all three will be as good as won.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 5-6-1921

82. SPEECH ON NON-VIOLENCE RESOLUTION, BROACH[1]

June 1, 1921

As we go ahead, we shall not need to address our petitions to the Government; we shall do that to ourselves. If we are found wanting in that respect, our swaraj bread will be but a half-baked one; it will be well-baked if our petition to ourselves is well-addressed. Money, spinning-wheels and members are tangible things, but non-violence is a matter of the heart. It is not something which can be seen by the eye. The country should understand that non-violence is essential for this movement as breath is essential for life. We have no use for the non-violence of the stone, of one who would not be disturbed even when kicked; no use, either, for the non-violence of the brute, of the dog, who, when someone strikes it, barks or runs to bite the person. We need non-violence such as was displayed by Lachhman Singh and Dulip Singh. If I may use friend Shaukat Ali's words, it is cold strength we require. So long as we have not acquired it, we shall not be

[1] At the Gujarat Political Conference; *vide* the preceding item.

considered fit for swaraj. If we hope to win swaraj with the strength of aeroplanes, we shall not succeed even in a hundred years. The Malegaon incident has put back the clock of swaraj. Though it is true that the incident will not cost us swaraj altogether, the cause has certainly received a set-back. We have not made non-violence on our part conditional on the Government remaining non-violent. That would be, really speaking, co-operation with the Government. We want to offer non-violent non-co-operation. Our non-violence will be true non-violence only if, even under a shower of bullets or with bombs dropping on us from aeroplanes, we go on working peacefully and do not rush to kill a Collector or burn post-offices. When we have cultivated such non-violence, we shall not fear that this Government will be succeeded by Pathans. So long as we have the strength of non-violence in us, we shall be conquered by none.

Besides this lesson of non-violence, we should learn another, that of Hindu-Muslim unity. If we go on fighting among ourselves, our movement will soon be over. We want non-violence not of the weak but of the strong, the non-violence which proceeds from courage. Such non-violence can be practised by one as weak as I am or by one who will be a match for five others like me. When I was a boy of ten or twelve, I used to be frightened of ghosts. At that time, my female attendant Rambha told me that I should repeat Rama's name every time I thought about a ghost. Accordingly, I used to recite the *Ramaraksha* and clear the room of ghosts and spirits. The non-violence India needs is that of the Arab boy who chose death rather than surrender, it is such non-violence as Prahlad displayed. I have been asking Muslims to keep reminding themselves of that Arab boy, and the Hindus of Prahlad, and cultivate non-violence, fortitude and courage like theirs.

The reference to Malegaon is included in the Resolution because we are to forget it and remember, instead, Lachhman Singh's and Dulip Singh's non-violence, their self-sacrifice. Your raising hands here in support of such non-violence will mean that, from today, you have shed fear of men and learnt to fear only God. So long as we have not done this, the world will bully us as it has always done. It is through Gujarat that we are to help India cultivate such strength. Non-payment of taxes is to be made possible through Gujarat. We can, however, succeed in this only when we have acquired the strength of non-violence. May God give such strength to everyone.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 5-6-1921

83. RESOLUTIONS[1]

June 1, 1921

(1) This Conference heartily supports the resolution on non-violent non-co-operation adopted at the Nagpur session of the Indian National Congress and it calls upon all classes of people to work with greater vigour and in a more organized manner to fulfil the resolution, especially because this Conference believes that the rate at which it is being worked out in Gujarat is not sufficient to guarantee swaraj within the current year.

(2) This Conference deems it obligatory on Gujarat to enrol three lacs of members on the Congress Committees, to collect 10 lakhs of rupees for the Tilak Swaraj Fund and to set one lakh of spinning-wheels at work according to the programme sketched out by the All-India Congress Committee at Bezwada and calls upon all workers in villages, talukas and districts to contribute their mite before 30th of June.

(3) Non-violence in thought, speech and action is an essential ingredient of the scheme of non-co-operation and its fulfilment largely depends upon the observance of the creed of non-violence, and therefore this Conference urges all to preserve perfect peace even in spite of any persecution or provocation offered by Government officials, to avoid the use of malevolent speech and to concentrate entirely on the work suggested by the I. N. Congress and to cease observing hartals without the special mandate of the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee and to avoid all hostile demonstrations in case of leaders being arrested by Government.

(a) This Conference expresses its sense of satisfaction at the peace observed throughout the country in spite of the repressive policy of the Government and expresses its emphatic regret and disappointment at the acts of violence committed on Government officers and leading co-operators at Malegaon.

The Bombay Chronicle, 6-6-1921

[1] Passed at the Gujarat Political Conference, Broach. Presumably these were drafted by Gandhiji.

84. REPLY TO ADDRESS BY "ANTYAJ" CONFERENCE, VEJALPUR[1]

June 1, 1921

I congratulate non-*Antyaj* friends who are present here, as I hold that the Hindus have been cleansed through them. There was no need at all to present me an address. These days, when asked by anyone, I say I am an *Antyaj*. The *Antyaj's* is a holy profession and we cannot dispense with his services. If no one undertook to clean lavatories, we would simply die of cholera. Forget the idea of presenting an address to me and think of doing some hard work. Improve your conditions, give up liquor and stop killing animals for hide. You may skin dead ones. After doing your work, take a bath and clean yourselves before stirring out. Do not go begging for left-overs. Do not accept such things from anyone. Politely decline them. Accept only what is offered with respect.

By presenting this address to me in a glass box of foreign make you have offered me an insult. You should have given me no address other than a sample of your craftsmanship in hand-weaving. You should have no use for foreign things.

The calico from Ahmedabad is for the very poor. You should have khadi, the stamp of culture. Make cloth yourselves, and wear or sell that. Giving up liquor and engaging yourselves in weaving —these are the means of your uplift.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarati, 12-6-1921

[1] In Broach district, Gujarat

85. SPEECH AT KHILAFAT CONFERENCE, BROACH

June 2, 1921

Mr. Gandhi, in moving the seventh resolution, said that he knew that they were willing to go home soon and, therefore, he would not speak at length. They knew where Bannu was situated. The views he held on the Frontier question were well-known to the President, and, therefore, he was asked to move the resolution in question. The Muslims of Bannu were armed with sticks and other weapons. They were godfearing and they were aware of the Khilafat question. Had the oppression fallen on us as much as on the Muslims of Bannu, he was sure they would have run away from the place immediately. Some of them were barristers and well-known persons. They had now sent them a message to carry on their campaign on the basis of truth.

God had been examining them how far they were getting on with provocative actions of Government. They had three ways to resort to whereas the speaker had only one and that was jehad. He would do that with Muslims if they resorted to violence. They might make use of the sword, but he would not. If any Muslim were to unsheathe the sword, he would be committing a great folly. He was, at that time, speaking mainly of Khilafat and not of swaraj. They had already warned Government that they should not instigate and oppress the people. The Ali Brothers were willing to suffer any hardship of Government, but they would still follow in the path of non-violent non-co-operation. They should not pay taxes to Government, and do their utmost to help the non-co-operation movement. The Musilms must carry on their national work in Ramadan. Some Hindus were telling him yesterday that the Muslims were telling him [*sic*] to kill cows and if they did not resort to that action they would be committing a great crime. Just as Mecca Shariff was their holy place, in the same way cow was a holy and sacred animal to him. Before resorting to that action they must consult the Ali Brothers. He was sure that Muslims would not do that action. Muslims would be considered always as equals with Hindus, they would be given every right enjoyed by Hindus. They must have faith and confidence in him and in his great movement. He lastly prayed to God to give them enough strength to carry on the national work successfully and peacefully.[1]

The Bombay Chronicle, 6-6-1921

[1] Hayat Saheb seconded the resolution and Faizullah Khan supported it. The resolution was put to vote and passed.

86. *THE VICEROY HAS SPOKEN*

I have read H.E. the Viceroy's speech. I think it is all right, though it has the flavour of Simla. We do not mind that however. If he wants his record to be judged by the yardstick of "act as you speak", he must act up to his word.

Making after-dinner speeches is a bad practice in itself. After dinner, a man relaxes himself. One is not in a condition immediately to apply one's mind seriously to anything then, especially after a dinner given with such pomp and splendour that newspapers would carry special accounts of it. This explains why Viceregal speeches are not as studied as they should be.

At this time, India needs seriousness. It has been wounded, and the wound has not only not healed but is actually going deeper. It is still bleeding. It cannot be covered with a bandage, but requires the services of an expert surgeon, a surgeon who has skill and patience. I have known good surgeons going without food when performing risky operations. I have also known some devout *vaidyas* who kept repeating God's name at the time.

Let His Excellency, again, not make light of the Ali Brothers' letter. It was not written for his sake, but for the sake of friends. One need not take exception to his having pointed to the Ali Brothers' speeches. It is a sign of nobility to admit a mistake pointed out even by an enemy. Some of the speeches of the Ali Brothers contained remarks which were ambiguous. All that the Ali Brothers' letter means is that no one who is struggling to defend his country and his religion should say anything ambiguous, knowingly or unknowingly. To show their nobility, they have respected the advice given by friends like me and have made a sincere and solemn promise to exercise still further restraint on themselves when speaking.

The Viceroy needs experience yet. He has to study a movement which has had no parallel. His speech suggests a preliminary study. He has tried to be cautious in his speech. The attempt has not wholly succeeded. He has tried to win over non-co-operators, but they cannot be won over by speeches. They will not put a wrong construction on speeches, but they will judge only from action.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 5-6-1921

87. GUJARAT'S DECISION

I should like to write at length about the Conference held in Broach. But, at midnight, and when thoroughly exhausted, I shall write in brief.

By the end of this month, 10 lakhs of rupees are to be collected, three lakh members enrolled and one lakh spinning-wheels put into commission. This is both easy and difficult for Gujarat.

It appears difficult for lack of workers. If a large number of workers—men and women—come forward, the task is easy. In these three things, even those can help who are not full-fledged non-co-operators, who do not have faith in non-co-operation. Only those who regard non-co-operation as a sin cannot help. I am sure that the number of such persons is fewer than the fingers of a hand.

How can we have this amount? This will be possible: (1) if women surrender their ornaments, (2) if the wealthy give a certain percentage of their earnings, (3) if all people give a certain portion of their earnings, (4) if those who drink give a part of what they spend on liquor, and (5) if some wealthy persons give all they have—there are many such ifs. We have to succeed in our task by satisfying these ifs. If the pledge taken at the Broach Conference is not fulfilled, Gujarat will be put to shame and it will be difficult to secure swaraj before the end of this year. Those who cannot give money should work on the spinning-wheel. Those who cannot do this should enrol members. Everyone should do his duty.

May God preserve Gujarat's honour.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 5-6-1921

88. MY NOTES

Duty of Members

The following question has been put to me:

You have written on what type of persons should be elected as delegates; it will be helpful if you also let us know who can be members.

It is evident that those who approve of the non-co-operation resolution will elect as delegates only such persons as support it. Hence a delegate should not be a [practising] lawyer or a title-holder, should be a khadi-wearer and a man who does not look down on *Antyajas*, and so on. For a member, the only conditions are the following:

1. He should be aged 21 years or over,
2. He should pay four annas every year [as membership fee],
3. He should accept swaraj as the country's goal, and
4. He should believe in peacefulness and truth as the only two means of winning swaraj.

Anyone who fulfils these conditions can become a member of the Congress, even though he believes in co-operating [with the Government], is a title-holder or a [practising] lawyer or wears foreign cloth. The Congress is not the organ of a single party and so there should be the minimum of restrictions on becoming its members. Only such conditions as are acceptable to all have been laid down. This is, however, merely what the Congress rules mean.

Personally, I certainly expect that, since non-co-operation has become as widespread as we know it has, everyone will be a non-co-operator. But it may be that my reading of the country's mood is not correct or that the country is not ready to do what it believes in. I certainly want everyone professing to be a non-co-operator to abide by the necessary conditions. If, however, the members of the Congress become non-co-operators in greater numbers, they may even be able to change the views of the Congress at its next session. Day by day, the struggle is becoming purer, the end and the means are becoming clearer. According to the saying "He is a hero who in a crisis stands up undaunted" we are looking for heroes in the country. The Congress is one means of discovering them.

ALI BROTHERS' PLEDGE

The following explanation has been issued under the signatures of Maulana Shaukat Ali and Maulana Mahomed Ali.[1]

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 5-6-1921

89. NOTES

THE NEED OF THE HOUR

It will be nothing short of a tragedy if we do not fulfil the Bezwada programme before the end of the month. Seven days of the month will have gone before these notes are out. We have not a moment to spare. We have hardly collected twenty lakhs of rupees as yet. To collect eighty lakhs during the next three weeks may seem an impossibility. But the seeming impossibility can be easily turned into a possibility if we were ceaselessly to work for the collection. Twenty-one provinces, if they will respond according to their ability, can easily furnish the balance. The Bezwada programme is the most concrete ever placed before the nation. If the people are with us and if we have enough workers, one crore of rupees is a mere nothing for thirty crores of people to find for a cause so great as that of swaraj, and for perpetuating a memory so great as that of the Lokamanya. If they choose, the women of India can give the money out of their jewellery, the liquor drinkers can give it out of their drinks. The mill-owners, who have derived the greatest benefit from the swadeshi movement, can find the eighty lakhs in a day. The Marwadis can, without any strain on their resources, find the amount, and so could the *Bhatias*, the *Memons*, the Parsis or the banias. They are all a prosperous community, and have before now more or less supported public movements. If they wish, the Sindhis can also find the amount. The labourers of India could pay the whole amount, if they sacrificed one-twelfth of their yearly earnings. I have consulted many friends as to the amount that can be easily paid by the respective classes mentioned by me. The following may serve as a working basis:

(1) Salaried men to pay one-tenth of their monthly pay.

(2) Lawyers, doctors, merchants and such others to pay one-twelfth of their net annual income as at the end of May last.

(3) Propertied men to pay 2½ p.c. of the valuation of their property.

[1] *Vide* "Draft of Ali Brothers' Apology", pp. 93-4.

(4) All the others to pay not less than four annas each.

If all were to pay according to this scale, there would be several crores of rupees. But one is aware that non-co-operators and sympathizers are drawn from all classes. No single class is so wholly non-co-operationist as to feel the personal responsibility for payment. This question of payment is the acid test of our sincerity, earnestness and capacity. Let us hope that the 30th of this month will not find us wanting.

Questions have been persistently asked as to why this large sum is required. The answer is simple. It is a profitable investment, not for purely personal but for public good. The amount will be devoted chiefly to distributing spinning-wheels and conducting national schools. We have, say, six crore homes, if broken down families may deserve so sweet a name. We must provide these families with spinning-wheels, and enable them to become real homes. One crore of rupees is surely the least amount required for establishing home-spinning on such a basis as to become self-propagating. Similarly, if we are to reconstruct our educational system, we shall need more than one crore of rupees for the purpose.

The second question that has been asked is—what security is there for honest accountancy? In the first place, we have in Messrs. Chhotani[1] and Jamnalal treasurers of unimpeachable integrity. Secondly, we have in Pandit Motilal Nehru a working secretary of great ability, experience and equally unimpeachable integrity. Thirdly, we have a vigilant working committee composed of fifteen representative Indians, who meet at least once a month in order to be able to exercise effective control over Congress affairs. So much for the all-India finance. The All-India Congress Committee is directly liable for the expenditure of one-fourth of the fund. The remaining three-fourths are to be retained by the Provincial Committees for local needs. Each Province is expected to keep efficient watch over its own finance. Finally, the whole income and expenditure, both provincial and central, is subject to be audited by auditors to be appointed by the All-India Congress Committee.

As with finance, so with the registration of members, and manufacture and introduction of spinning-wheels. These three are simple and effective tests of our constructive capacity.

I suggest to all Congress and Khilafat workers that they should set apart the last ten days as special Congress days to be solely devoted by them to finishing the Bezwada programme. No

[1] Mian Mahomed Haji Jan Mahomed Chhotani; a nationalist leader of Bombay

speeches are required, no meetings are necessary. Quiet house to house visits and personal canvassing are more effective than meetings for the class of work before us.

GUJARAT'S RESOLVE

Gujarat has held its Provincial Conference and its Khilafat Conference at the historic town of Broach. The Conferences met on the banks of the beautiful Narmada. It had also a khaddar and charkha exhibition. The great variety of charkha showed that India's inventive genius was being profitably utilized. Let not the reader, however, imagine that there was among these specimens a charkha with more spindles, yielding a correspondingly larger outturn of yarn. Addresses of the Chairman of the Reception Committee and the President of the Conference were both brief and to the point. The Chairman, Mr. Haribhai Amin, took no more than fifteen minutes to read his simple address. The President, Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, took no more than thirty minutes to read the whole of his address. I commend the latter to the reader for its simplicity, terseness, relevancy and courtesy. It has not one bitter word for the opponents of non-co-operation. Its criticism of the Government is most restrained. The major part of it deals with the constructive part of non-co-operation.

But the importance of the Conference lies in the resolution allocating to Gujarat its portion of the Bezwada programme. It calls upon Gujarat to furnish more than three times its quota of subscription to the Tilak Swaraj Fund, i.e., ten lakhs, its almost exact quota of members, i.e., three lakhs, and one lakh of charkhas, i.e., a little less than double its quota. I do not say it will be a proud record if it is fulfilled. It will not be bad, if it is accomplished before the 30th June. The ten lakhs of rupees have been further allocated to the respective districts so as to systematize the collection. The Congress membership in Gujarat stands at 40,514. The Fund stands at Rs. 1,40,149 of which Rs. 35,000 have been forwarded to the All-India Congress Committee. The total number of spinning-wheels is 20,058.

Gujarat is perhaps the strongest in the matter of nationalizing education, as it is the weakest, perhaps, of all the provinces in the suspension of practice by lawyers—not more than half a dozen having suspended practice. Its progress in national education I must give in the words of the report before me.

> The total number of institutions imparting national education in Gujarat stands at 245, with 32,102 students attending them. The increase is partly due to the inclusion of the municipal schools of Ahmedabad.

The number of candidates who appeared at the examinations conducted by the Gujarat Vidyapith was 46 for the B.A., 4 for the B. Sc., 96 for the Intermediate Arts, 46 for the Intermediate Science, and 548 for the Matriculation Examination. The number of successful candidates was 39, 2, 65, 9 and 374, respectively.

The Punjab Going Ahead

I have just seen a copy of the report of non-co-operation work in the Punjab, as submitted to the General Secretary, All-India Congress Committee, from which I extract the following interesting figures. To the time of writing the report, i.e., the end of April, the total collections stood at Rs. 2,09,081–As. 13. I have already remarked on the business-like character of this collection. The Punjab deserves congratulations for heading the list among all the provinces. I am not aware that even to-day, any single province can boast of having collected over two lakhs. But on the principle that more is always expected of those who give much, I hope that during this last month of privilege, the Punjab will make still greater effort, and if possible, even beat her own record and retain the first place. I say if possible, because, although Bombay has been practically asleep all this time, I cannot conceive the possibility of any province beating Bombay. But I know that the Punjab has the capacity, and if she adds to it the will, she can certainly come up a close second, if she is not easily the first. Next to Pandit Malaviyaji, I know no one who is so efficient in begging as Lalaji. The Arya Samaj activity has used the middle class to contributing to political movements. The merchants of Amritsar can alone find the balance needed. There is certainly every reason for Amritsar to find the balance. But Jullundhar, Lyallpur, Rawalpindi, Multan, Gujranwala, Sialkot, Hafizabad are all places that can afford to pay handsomely. Lahore itself has many wealthy merchants, and, but for the unfortunate fact that we have no faith in ourselves, the Punjab can certainly share with Bombay the honour of making up the deficiency. At any rate let us hope that she will.

The Punjab's record in point of education is also not bad, though, seeing what the college students and the schoolboys had to go through in the Martial Law days, her record might have been better. Over 350 students are reported to have left their colleges permanently. Of these, 85, being among the most brilliant students, have joined the Indian national service. A board of national education has been established. The Guru Nanak Khalsa College, Gujranwala, has disaffiliated itself from the university. The

Provincial Committee has opened a national college at Lahore. Eight old schools, some of them of high standing, have become nationalized, and fifteen new national schools have been started. I wish Mr. Santanam, the secretary, had furnished the exact number of pupils studying in these national institutions. From what I know of some of these schools myself, the figure is not likely to be under five thousand. Nearly 25 teachers have left Government institutions. Forty-one lawyers have suspended practice, of whom only thirteen are getting subsistence allowance from the Provincial Committee. Panchayats have been established in nearly 80 places. The Punjab had, at the end of April, 258 Congress Committees. The average membership is about 75. The Rohtak District comes easily first with 47 Committees.

No part of India can beat the Punjab for spinning-wheels. The report states with pride that there are very few Punjabi homes in which there is not a charkha. "Till recently, they have remained idle, but during the last two months everyone has come back to the habit of spinning." The sad fact, in spite of almost universal hand-spinning in the Punjab, remains that the Punjabis had taken to the tawdry, starchy calico, so uncomfortable in the Indian weather for personal wear, in the place of the beautiful, soft, durable and absorbent khaddar. I read with pleasure, therefore, that "the habit of wearing khaddar clothes amongst the well-to-do classes is growing daily". The Punjab is experiencing difficulty in finding the number of weavers required. Most people do not know that the weavers yielding to the temptations offered by unscrupulous recruiting agents, exchange the honourable calling of weaving for that of murdering. The Punjab, at one time, had probably the largest number of weavers in proportion to her population in all India. I hope, now that weaving is daily becoming more and more honourable and paying, the Punjabis will prefer it to the, at the present moment at any rate, dishonourable calling of so-called soldiering.

The Punjab, then, has no mean record in non-co-operation.

THE ASSAM COOLIES

I have purposely refrained from dealing with this trouble, though I have remained in touch with Mr. Andrews and others, who are on the spot dealing with it. I refer to the trouble only to state that I knew nothing of its coming. I should be sorry if anybody used my name to lead the men to desert their employers. It is clear enough that it is purely a labour trouble. It is admitted that the employers reduced the wages. Both Mr. Das and Mr. An-

drews report that the trouble is purely economic, and that the coolies have a substantial grievance. It is evident that the reformed Government has failed to cope with it. I observe that *The Times of India* has made the most illegitimate use of the trouble to impute enmity to English commercial interests in India. It has become the fashion to attribute hatred to non-co-operators. I make bold to say that non-co-operation has alone prevented racial feuds and disturbances, and directed the anger of the people in the proper channel. The aim of non-co-operation is to hurt no interest whatsoever by reason only of its belonging to a race. Its aim is to purge every interest of its injurious or impure character. Every English or Indian interest that is based on injustice or brute force, or is antagonistic to the growth of India as a whole, is undoubtedly in peril. No interest that is supported merely by brute force but not by people's goodwill can possibly survive the fire of non-co-operation. If the Assam planters are not sustained by the exploitation of Indian labour, they have nothing to fear. A time is certainly coming when there will be no more unconscionable dividends. The profits of big concerns must bear relation to the wages of the workers. I lay down these categorical propositions, because I know that non-co-operation is beyond the reach of the bayonet. It has found an abiding place in the Indian heart. Workers like me will go when the hour has struck, but non-co-operation will remain. I am aware, too, that the labouring class in India has not yet become enlightened enough to have the ability to regulate the relations between capital and labour on a just basis. But that time is coming soon—faster than we may imagine. I am hoping that the capitalists, be they European or Indian, will appreciate the new awakening, and the new force that has arisen in our midst.

Unacceptable

Some newspapers, mistaking the apology of the Ali Brothers as of weak men seeking to avoid the discomfort of the prison life, have suggested that the Government should take similar undertakings from those undergoing imprisonment for political offences, and discharge them. No non-co-operator worthy of his creed can possibly purchase his discharge by giving any undertaking to the Government. Every one of them has probably protested his innocence of violent intent. The Ali Brothers, had they been prosecuted, would still have made the statement now made. That would not have prevented their imprisonment. The makers of the unacceptable suggestion even know that many have been

sentenced for disaffection, or for refusing to give security that they will not speak. It is the duty of a non-co-operator to preach disaffection to the existing system of government, to prepare the country for *civil* disobedience, to refuse to give security of the kind just referred to. The Ali Brothers have given no undertaking to refrain from any of the first two things. If, therefore, the Government desire to punish only incitement to violence, almost all the men recently imprisoned are entitled to be discharged without any undertaking on their part. So far as non-co-operators are concerned, they are or ought to be totally indifferent. Prison life must be the normal life of the majority of them. And it delights me to read the names of the people who cheerfully prefer imprisonment to giving undertakings to buy their freedom. When every care is taken to avoid a breach of his own faith, a non-co-operator may not give any pledge of any kind whatsoever to anybody.

THE DESTRUCTIVE PART

The Leader has blessed me with undeserved compliment for this programme, and laughed at me for having ever advised the country to adopt the destructive part of non-co-operation. A correspondent of that journal appeals to me definitely to withdraw the rest of the programme. Let me hasten to inform *The Leader* and its correspondent that it is not possible for me to do so even if I wished. The Congress and the Central Khilafat Committee are the only bodies that possess the power. And my faith in the destructive part being as green as ever, I personally could not abandon it, even if the Congress and the Central Khilafat Committee did so. With them non-violence may not be, with one body it is not, the final creed. For me, I have nothing beyond non-violence as a remedy for all ills. Therefore I cannot be party to advising lawyers to return to their practice, or students to Government schools. Nor can I be party to lawyers and Government school and college boys becoming holders of office under the Congress, so long as it retains its non-co-operationist character.

The vocal propaganda of the destructive part in the first step in non-co-operation is over. We know exactly where we are regarding the titles, the law courts, the schools and the councils. I believe non-co-operators are satisfied that these institutions have lost their former prestige. The opponents are entitled to comfort in the knowledge that the numerical response has not been large enough to be striking. Those that have responded to the call constitute the most effective, though silent, propaganda in the direction.

But one thing is clear. There can be no resumption of co-operation till the three conditions laid down by the Congress are satisfied.

The Bezwada programme, I admit, is not in itself enough to establish swaraj. But I do hold that it is a very substantial step towards it. The fulfilment of the programme will inspire the nation with self-confidence, and enable it to take the other steps, if necessary. One crore electors—for, to become Congress members is to become electors for national representatives, for various bodies—is to find the nucleus for a real electorate under swaraj. To have twenty lacs of spinning-wheels in working order is to know that India is determined to drive out poverty, to become self-reliant and to achieve her economic independence. The collection of one crore of rupees is a tangible token of the nation's determination to achieve her destiny.

We have so fed ourselves with the history of other nations that we find it impossible to believe that we can attain our end without a repetition of thirty years' or a hundred years' war, and therefore without military training and huge armament. We do not care to read our own history and remember that whilst kings have come and kings have gone, whilst dynasties have been formed and destroyed, India has remained unmoved and unaffected. We will not read the lesson of the late War, that it is not so much military preparation we want as a change of our own outlook upon India's future. Habit has forced the conviction upon us that we, the countless millions, are nothing before one hundred thousand Englishmen, not all of whom are even administrators. As soon as we have discarded the awe of the British rule, and ceased to consider ourselves as cheap as dirt, we shall be free. I know that it is possible to perform this revolution of thought during the year, and it is my hope that India will be ready for it during the time. Hitherto we have promised ourselves many things and fulfilled little. If we were to turn up even two-year-old resolutions of the Congress, we shall find that we have failed even to send petitions we had resolved upon. Hitherto, we have looked up to the Government to do everything for us, and we have found it almost wholly irresponsive in everything that matters. We have therefore been filled with blank despair. We have ceased to believe in ourselves or the Government. The present movement is an attempt to change this winter of our despair into the summer of hope and confidence. When we begin to believe in ourselves, Englishmen will, I promise, begin to believe in us. Then, and not till then, is there any hope of co-operation between the Government and us. The existing system of Government, it will be found

upon analysis, is based upon a scientific study of our weaknesses, which have rather been promoted by it than reduced. Non-co-operation is, therefore, as much a protest against our own weaknesses, as against the inherent corruption of the existing system. British and Indian, we become impure by belonging to it. The withdrawal from it of one party purifies both. I invite even the sceptics to follow the programme of non-co-operation as a trial, and I promise that there will be swaraj in India during the year, if the programme is carried out in its fulness.

Swaraj Is Self-Reliance

An esteemed friend, referring to the Viceregal interview, writes:

> In my humble opinion, these interviews by non-co-operation leaders are, in the present circumstances, a political mistake, and may react on the movement. Back of the Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs is the question of swaraj; and India's swaraj means the death of the Empire. Such a death may, in happy circumstances, mean its rebirth as a commonwealth of nations. But where is the statesman today, with a free and generous view of world politics, to look beyond British interests to the deeper values of humanity? Victory of the swaraj movement I conceive in terms of *self-reliance*, not of snatching some *concessions* from Lord Reading. As far as I can see, the hope for an escape from further confusion lies in escape from negotiations with the Government and becoming as a Nation strong in the *will to suffer*. A crucified India will be an India emancipated.

Whilst I do not agree with the writer that the interviews were a political mistake, the statement of our attitude is perfect. Our concern is not with what British statesmen will or will not do. Our business is always to endeavour to keep ourselves on the right track. Our aloofness must not be a sign of our haughtiness or disinclination to explain our view-points to our opponents. We must be prepared to approach the world, if we are firm in our own purpose. But I recognize, too, the force of the objection that there is danger in these interviews. Not being in the habit of having always a reserve of minimum on which there can be no surrender, we may easily slip.

Who Can Be Congress Members?

A friend asks whether prostitutes can become members of the Congress, and whether those who do not accept the creed can become members by simply paying four annas. There is certainly nothing to prevent these unfortunate sisters from becoming mem-

bers, if they otherwise conform to the constitution. Even thieves have a right to demand admission on compliance with the terms of membership. One can only hope that if the desire to join the Congress is stimulated among the wrecks of society, it is a sign of coming reformation. But we may not *ask* such people to become members for the purpose of swelling the number. It is equally clear to me that those who will not solemnly accept and sign the Congress creed cannot become members. The test is simple but absolutely necessary:

(1) Attainment of the age of twenty-one.
(2) Desire and effort to obtain swaraj by peaceful and legitimate means.
(3) Payment of four annas per annum.

Anyone, male or female, co-operator or non-co-operator, fulfilling this simple test is entitled to membership without further question.

Young India, 8-6-1921

90. *THE VICEROY SPEAKS*

What the Viceroy said with reference to Mr. Shafi's speech is perhaps equally true of his own. For His Excellency described Mr. Shafi's speech as postprandial oratory. I have been, in my early days, a student more or less accurate of the so-called historic speeches delivered by various Prime Ministers at the Mansion-house. They seemed to me to have always an air of unreality about them. And it grieves me, after having studied the speech of His Excellency the Viceroy, to have to say that this one also has the same air of unreality about it. Not that Lord Reading had intended to clothe his speech with any such air. On the contrary there are in it evident traces of his having laboured to deliver a true message to an expectant India. But the speech has failed, in my humble opinion, in doing so, because of the many limitations that the office of a Viceroy carries with it. He could not, for instance, override the tradition of claiming infallibility for British rule. He laid it down as a proposition, "beyond the possibility of a doubt", that "here in India there can be no trace and must be no trace of racial inequality". There is no more unreal proposition to the ear of the Indian than this, because his experience, be he ever so tall, belies it. Superiority of race is a passion, has become almost a religion with the average Englishman. Nor does he strive to conceal it from view. It obtrudes itself upon you in India as it does in the Colonies. It is written in the

statute-book. One misses in the Viceregal speech a frank recognition of the many failures of the past and, therefore, a sincere desire for opening a new page.

If His Excellency, in my humble opinion, was hardly happy in his statement of the 'fundamental principle of British rule', he was, I fear, even less so in his reference to Maulanas Shaukat Ali and Mahomed Ali. I recognize that he has been exceedingly cautious in his speech. He has attempted not to wound susceptibilities. As a matter of fact, there was no question of wounding susceptibilities. He need not have spared the Maulanas where they might have erred. The statement made by the Brothers was instigated by me and me alone. It is an apology tendered to friends, and not to the Government. It is made not to evade prosecution, but to put themselves right with their own conscience and with their friends. The assurance to them, therefore, that there would be no prosecution so long as they abided by their undertaking was gratuitous, if not offensive. Lord Reading's Government is free to take up prosecution against the Brothers at any moment they choose.

This campaign of non-co-operation has no reference to diplomacy, secret or open. The only diplomacy it admits of is the statement and pursuance of truth at any cost. The Viceroy showed me the speeches; I realized that some passages in them did not read well. They were capable of being interpreted as an incitement to violence, and I realized that, prosecution or no prosecution, there was no doubt in my mind as to the advice I should tender to the Brothers. I venture to suggest to His Excellency that, if he is anxious to disarm non-co-operators, he will do so only by becoming undiplomatic and absolutely frank. The latter seek and need no shelter or protection, and I invite His Excellency to reciprocate by not shielding the offenders amongst the governing class.

Indeed, there is no room in the India of to-day and of tomorrow for a governing class. His Excellency will therefore find out his mistake, if he clings to the belief that "Indians will respond whole-heartedly to the just rule which we (British) intend to carry on." I venture to prophesy that it is not what the British intend that will count for the future destiny of India, but what the Indians themselves intend. And they are claiming more and more insistingly to govern themselves, anyhow. Good government, they are coming to see, is no substitute for self-government.

The fear, then, is not about His Excellency's intentions, which I am convinced are good, but the fear is as to the ideal he is working for. He thinks of a high destiny which is in store for

India at some indefinable period, whereas non-co-operators at any rate are of opinion that India's high destiny is even now being frustrated by the existing system, which appears to them to be devised for her prolonged, if not perpetual, subjection. Sometimes a difference of degree itself constitutes a difference of ideals. And I hold it to be an ideal totally different from India's, when anybody considers that, whilst the distant goal must be one of freedom for India, its present state must be that of tutelage. Swaraj is India's birthright, as the late Lokamanya Tilak truly said. And India throughout these long, long years, has been balked of her birthright. No wonder that she has become impatient.

Lord Reading will, perhaps, now better appreciate the truth of the proposition he has read and heard, viz., that any action of the Government that falls short of the fullest reparation, however good it may appear in itself, will, by non-co-operators at least, be charged with a bad motive, that of prolonging India's agony in her slave-state. British rule, today, lies under a shadow. It is tainted with the blood of the innocent victims of Jallianwala, and with treachery towards Islam. And even as the purest milk poured into a poison bowl will be counted by every sane man as poison, so will every act of the British Government be judged in the light of its immediate past. The unrest of India can only be cured by dealing with the causes which have brought it about, never by covering the bitterness thereof by sweets of office or other privileges, no matter how tempting they may be, if they are not capable of dealing effectively with the causes themselves.

Young India, 8-6-1921

91. TO THE MODERATES

DEAR FRIENDS,

It is a matter of no small grief to me that I find myself estranged from you in ideas, although by training and association I have been brought up in the company of those who have been regarded as Moderates. Partly owing to circumstances and partly owing to temperament, I have never belonged to any of the great parties in India. Nevertheless, my life has been influenced much more by men belonging to the Moderate party than the Extremist. Dadabhai Naoroji, Gokhale, Badruddin Tyabji[1], Pherozeshah

[1] 1844-1906; judge, legislator, President, Indian National Congress, 1887; *vide* Vol. I, p. 386.

Mehta[1] are all names to conjure with. Their services to the country can never be forgotten. They have inspired the lives of many like myself throughout our country. I have enjoyed the pleasantest associations with many of the living amongst you. What is it that has flung me away from you and into the lap of the Nationalist party? Why do I find more in common with the Nationalists than with you? I am unable to see that you love your country less than the Nationalists. I refuse to believe that you are less willing to sacrifice yourselves for the country's good than the Nationalists. Certainly the Moderate party can claim as much intelligence, integrity and ability as the Nationalists, if not more. The difference, therefore, lies in the ideals.

I will not weary you with a discussion of the different ideals. For the moment, I will simply invite your attention to some of the items in the constructive programme in the movement of non-co-operation. You may not like the word itself. You may intensely dislike, as I know you do, many items in the programme. But if you concede to the non-co-operators the same credit for love of the land that you will claim for yourselves, will you not view with favour those parts of the programme on which there cannot be two opinions? I refer to the drink evil. I ask you to accept my evidence that the country as a whole is sick of the drink curse. Those unfortunate men who have become slaves to the habit require to be helped against themselves. Some of them even ask to be helped. I invite you to take advantage of the wave of feeling that has been roused against the drink traffic. The agitation arose spontaneously. Believe me, the deprivation to the Government of the drink revenue is of the least importance in the campaign. The country is simply impatient of the evil itself. In no country in the world will it be possible to carry on this traffic in the face of the united and the enlightened opposition of a people, such as is now to be witnessed in India. Whatever the errors or excesses that were committed by the mob in Nagpur, the cause was just. The people were determined to do away with the drink curse that was sapping their vitality. You will not be deceived by the specious argument that India must not be made sober by compulsion, and that those who wish to drink must have facilities provided for them. The State does not cater for the vices of its people. We do not regulate or license houses of ill fame. We do not provide facilities for thieves to indulge

[1] 1845-1915; President, Indian National Congress, 1890, 1909; *vide* Vol. I, p. 384.

their propensity for thieving. I hold drink to be more damnable than thieving and perhaps even prostitution. Is it not often the parent of both? I ask you to join the country in sweeping out of existence the drink revenue and abolishing the liquor-shops. Many liquor-sellers would gladly close their shops, if the money paid by them were refunded.

'What about the education of the children?' may be the question asked. I venture to suggest to you that it is a matter of deep humiliation for the country to find its children educated from the drink revenue. We shall deserve the curse of posterity if we do not wisely decide to stop the drink evil, even though we may have to sacrifice the education of our children. But we need not. I know many of you have laughed at the idea of making education self-supporting by introducing spinning in our schools and colleges. I assure you that it solves the problem of education as nothing else can. The country cannot bear fresh taxation. Even the existing taxation is unbearable. Not only must we do away with the opium and the drink revenue, but the other revenue has also to be very considerably reduced if the ever-growing poverty of the masses is to be combated in the near future.

And that brings me to the existing system of government. The country is the poorer for the Reforms. The annual expenditure has grown. A deeper study of the system has convinced me that no tinkering with it will do. A complete revolution is the greatest need of the time. The word revolution displeases you. What I plead for, however, is not a bloody revolution, but a revolution in the thought-world, such as would compel a radical revision of the standard of life in the higher services of the country. I must frankly confess to you that the ever-increasing rate of salaries paid to the higher branches of the Civil Service fairly frightens me, as I hope it would frighten you. Is there any correspondence between the life of the governors and of the governed millions who are groaning under their heels? The bruised bodies of the latter are a standing testimony to the truth of my statement. You now belong to the governing class. Let it not be said that your heels are no softer than your predecessors' or your associates'. Must you also rule from Simla? Must you also follow the policy that, only a year ago, you criticized adversely? It is under your regime that a man has been sentenced to transportation for life for holding certain opinions. You may not plead that he was inciting to violence, for not very long ago you dismissed such pleas. The Ali Brothers have apologized for even a suspicion

of violence in their speeches. You will be doing a cruel injustice to the country if you allow yourselves to believe that any fear of prosecution has prompted the apology. A new spirit has been born in the country. The fear of the judge within is more terrible than that of the one without. Do you know that during the past six months several high-souled youths, your countrymen, have gone to gaol, because they will not condescend to give security which, in their opinion, was dishonourable for them to do? It is under your *regime* that the patience of utterly innocent Moplas[1] has been put to a severe test and has as yet not been found wanting. I would gladly think, as I really believe, that you are not responsible for the atrocities that are at present being perpetrated in the name of peace and justice. But you will not let the public or me say that you are helpless where you are not hoodwinked. That, however, would bring me to a discussion of our ideals, which I must not enter upon at the present moment. If the country can only get your assistance in stopping the drink traffic, you will certainly add to the many services that you have rendered it in the past, and, maybe, that one step will open your eyes to many another possibility.

I remain,
Yours, as ever,
M. K. GANDHI

Young India, 8-6-1921

92. SAVE THE COW

Professor Vaswani has unfurled the banner of the cow's freedom. The danger has come sooner than I had expected. I had hoped that it would come when India could regard it with equanimity. In my humble opinion, Professor Vaswani might have started the movement under better auspices. Any movement started by Hindus for protecting the cow, without whole-hearted Mussulman co-operation, is doomed to failure.

The Hindus' participation in the Khilafat is the greatest and the best movement for cow-protection. I have therefore called Khilafat our *Kamadhuk*[2].

The Mussulmans are striving their utmost to respect Hindu susceptibilities in this matter of life and death to the Hindu. The

[1] Muslims inhabiting the Malabar region of Southern India
[2] A mythical cow that gave whatever one asked of her

Muslim League under Hakim Ajmal Khan's presidentship carried a cow-protection resolution at Amritsar two years ago. Maulana Abdul Bari has written upon it. The Ali Brothers, for the sake of their Hindu countrymen, have given up the use of beef in their house. Mian Chhotani saved hundreds of cows in Bombay alone during the last *Bakr-i-Id*. We could not accuse our Mussulman countrymen of apathy in the matter.

The surest way of defeating our object is to rush Mussulmans. I do not know that Mussulman honour has ever been found wanting. With them, as with everyone, prejudices die hard. We have got enlightened Mussulman opinion with us. It must take time for it to react upon the Mussulman masses. The Hindus must therefore be patient.

There is nothing strange about all the Shikarpur Hindus' having voted unanimously in favour of the prohibition of cow-slaughter. Is there a Hindu who will not vote for it? The use of that unanimous opinion for bearing down Mussulman opposition is the way to stiffen it. The Hindu members must have known, must have ascertained, Mussulman feeling. And they should have refrained from going to a division, so long as the Mussulman opinion was against them.

Let us recognize that there is an interest actively working to keep us—Hindus and Mussulmans—divided. That very interest is quite capable of developing regard for Hindu susceptibilities in this respect. I should beware of it, and distrust it. I strongly advise the Shikarpur friends to wait for their Mussulman brethren.

Let them by all means abstain from all meat, so that their Mussulman brethren may have other meat cheaper than beef. Let them consider it a shame to have a single cow or her progeny in distress, or undergoing ill-treatment at the hands of Hindus themselves. Let them develop their *Goshala* so as to make it a model dairy farm as well as a home for aged and infirm cattle. Let them breed the finest cattle in their *Goshala*. They will do real service to *Gomata*[1]. Let the Shikarpuris one and all become true non-co-operators, and hasten the redress of the Khilafat wrong. I promise they will save the cow when they have done their utmost to save the Khilafat.

It must be an article of faith for every Hindu that the cow can only be saved by Mussulman friendship. Let us recognize frankly that complete protection of the cow depends purely upon

[1] Cow the mother

Mussulman goodwill. It is as impossible to bend the Mussulmans to our will as it would be for them to bend us to theirs. We are evolving the doctrine of equal and free partnership. We are fighting Dyerism—the doctrine of frightfulness.

Cow-protection is the dearest possession of the Hindu heart. It is the one concrete belief common to all Hindus. No one who does not believe in cow-protection can possibly be a Hindu. It is a noble belief. I endorse every word of what Professor Vaswani has said in praise of the cow. Cow-worship means to me worship of innocence. For me the cow is the personification of innocence. Cow-protection means the protection of the weak and the helpless. As Professor Vaswani truly remarks, cow-protection means brotherhood between man and beast. It is a noble sentiment that must grow by patient toil and *tapasya*. It cannot be imposed upon anyone. To carry cow-protection at the point of the sword is a contradiction in terms. *Rishis* of old are said to have performed penance for the sake of the cow. Let us follow in the footsteps of the *rishis*, and ourselves do penance, so that we may be pure enough to protect the cow and all that the doctrine means and implies.

Young India, 8-6-1921

93. *SPINNING* v. *HAND-WEAVING*

To
THE EDITOR
Young India

I have read with great interest Dr. S. B. Mitra's letter and your comments thereon in the issue of May 11.[1] You say, "Hand-spinning includes all that the correspondent suggests, but it includes much more." Thus you imply that hand-spinning includes hand-weaving and some other things.

I am afraid that to most people spinning means spinning only, and as all your force has been laid on the charkha and spinning, and not on weaving and the handloom explicitly, the latter has faded into insignificance in the public imagination. We hear of spinning-wheel classes and competitions, but nowhere of the introduction of new looms, much less of making of thousands of looms, even of the most rudimentary type. For every ten new spinning-wheels introduced, there must be one additional

[1] *Vide* "Greater Use of Handlooms", 11-5-1921.

handloom-pit or improved or fly-shuttle introduced at the same time and without any loss of time. Otherwise, there will be a great pressure on the existing handlooms, and hundreds of *khandies*[1] of hand-spun yarn will be heaped upon the weaver, who naturally prefers the mill-made yarn, it being easier to weave. Up to last year, there was an equilibrium, so to speak, between the number of the handlooms in the country and the yarn—foreign or Indian mill-made—that remains in the country. By the production of hand-spun yarn in very large quantities in the country this equilibrium is disturbed, and this state of things can be remedied only by a proportionate increase in the number of looms—ten wheels to one loom roughly. As a humble worker in the field of khadi production in Kathiawad, I am bound to say that while thousands of new wheels are set to work, not even a few dozen new looms are being made. The result is that there is a keen competition between those who produce cloth from mill-made yarn and hand-spun yarn with consequent increase in the cost of weaving.

I take this opportunity of stating that a few months ago I was a sceptic about the possibilities of the charkha. Being quite unacquainted with village economics, I doubted as many paper-economists still do, whether two annas or even three were enough for a single person's subsistence, and therefore whether hand-spinning was a practical proposition. Now, when I see in every khadi-producing centre scores of women being daily turned back, as I have to restrict my operations for want of weavers in the areas concerned, I see all the advantages you advocate as following from the introduction of hand-spinning on a large scale. But I wish you would lay some, if not equal, emphasis, on the importance of weaving, as you do on spinning by hand. The loom is not less important than the wheel for clothing India, as for proving a supplementary industry for our semi-starved peasantry.

Amreli, Kathiawad — A. V. THAKKAR
20-5-1921

I do not think there is any danger of hand-weaving not keeping pace with hand-spinning. Moreover, the existing looms which are weaving foreign yarn have to be freed. The fact is that we have not as yet been able to reach the requisite strength in our hand-spun yarn. The problem now is to improve the quality of hand-spun yarn, so that it can be easily woven by the ordinary weavers. For the surplus yarn, I suggest its use for making ropes, tape, straps and countless other things that can be easily made. Hand-weaving is not so easily learnt by all as hand-spinning is. At the same time, I do not wish to be

[1] A measure of weight, about 20 maunds

understood to imply that no special effort needs to be made for hand-weaving. My point is that it is going on as fast as possible. The weaver's wage has increased because of the apprecia-tion of swadeshi. It ought to have increased. A weaver is any day equal, say, to a carpenter who gets more than the former.

Young India, 8-6-1921

94. TO CORRESPONDENTS[1]

We receive so much correspondence making all kinds of inquiries, that we have found it more and more difficult to reply to individuals by post. We, therefore, propose, in so far as is possible, to reply to the inquiries through this column.

K. S. Subbiahier—To spin hundred counts requires great care and attention. If you are interested in the art, you must travel in the Ganjam District, and study the spinners at work. The dhotis made of such fine yarn, we regret, are not yet available in such large quantities as to need special agents.

K. S. Venkatraman—If you have succeeded in inventing a spinning-wheel to satisfy the conditions of Mr. Revashankar Jhaveri's prize, you should write to the Manager, Satyagraha Ashram, sending drawings and giving the output of yarn per hour.

Mahomed Anwer-ud-din, Panipat—The nut-cutter cannot be traced. If you send us a copy of the receipt, if any, further inquiries will be made. We do not review such articles. Nor do we take advertisements.

Young India, 8-6-1921

95. OUR TRIAL

India took a pledge at Bezwada two months ago, in all earnestness, after discussing the matter through its esteemed representatives, that before the 30th of June:

1. We should collect not less than a crore of rupees for perpetuating the memory of Tilak Maharaj, and the funds should be utilized for winning swaraj.
2. We should get not fewer than one crore names of men and women of 21 years and over enrolled on the Congress register.
3. We should get not fewer than 20 lakhs of spinning-wheels working in India.

[1] Presumably by Gandhiji

If even one of these tasks remains unfinished by us, the country will be put to shame, the readers will be put to shame and so shall I be. Here I intend to talk about money. In order to preserve my honour, I must give, if I have the money, a crore of rupees even if I become a beggar in consequence. The reader, too, ought to act in the same manner. One's honour should be dearer to one than even a lakh of rupees. To work for swaraj means to regard the country's honour as our own, to look upon the country's suffering as ours.

So far we have not collected more than 20 lakhs in all from the country as a whole. Eighty lakhs still remain to be collected. For that, we have only 24 days from now. If we work with the speed with which we have worked so far, these 24 days are nothing to speak of. If we put energy into our efforts, the 24 days are more than enough.

If Gujarat wills it, it can on its own collect 80 lakhs of rupees by the end of this month. But Gujarat does not have so much faith in itself and, therefore, acting like a miser, it has set the limit of its capacity at Rs. 10 lakhs. In a conference at Broach, representatives of Gujarat pledged themselves, after full deliberation, that they should, as Gujarat's share of the country's burden:

1. give 10 lakhs of rupees,
2. enrol three lakhs of members, and
3. put one lakh spinning-wheels into commission.

The main purpose of this leaflet is to point out to people the duty of collecting 10 lakhs of rupees and to show how it can be fulfilled.

I have suggested the maximum that we may give, but there are not many who will give so much. Most people need some standard or basis of calculation. After discussing the matter with friends, I suggest the following basis:

1. Salary-earners should give not less than a tenth part of their monthly salary.

2. Business men, lawyers, doctors and others in independent professions should give a twelfth part of their net earnings during the previous 12 months.

3. Those who receive rent from immovable property or interest from cash holdings should, if they have mortgaged the property, deduct the amount of the mortgage from its value and pay at the minimum rate of 2¼ per cent on the balance.

If everyone gives on this basis, we shall easily get a crore of rupees.

Reader, whether you are a Hindu or Muslim, Parsi, Christian or Jew, whether a man or woman, whether you are a mill-owner or worker, an employee or independent business man, do not wait for anyone to approach you for collection, but go, this very day, to any of the centres fixed for receiving contributions and, without thinking of others or making any comparisons, pay at least what you think you can afford, and so discharge your duty.

Obtain a receipt from the centre where you pay.

Let your relatives and friends read this leaflet, collect contributions from them too and pay them up.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 9-6-1921

96. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING IN WADHWAN[1]

June 9, 1921

Some people say that I have forgotten Kathiawad. There are many things which had better be forgotten. It is better that I stay away from Kathiawad. I am serving it through the work I am doing in British India. At the moment, I am here to beg from you contributions to the Tilak Swaraj Fund. I must collect half a lakh of rupees every day. If India does not fulfil her pledge by June 30, it will not be possible to win our goal. I have trust in God. I experience His miracles every moment and I have confidence that our pledge will be fulfilled.

At the Amritsar session of the Congress, I had pleaded for co-operation with the Government because I put faith in the Emperor's proclamation. I read in it the Government's regret [for what had happened]. I had noted Lord Sinha's[2] language. Even Mr. Montagu's eagerness [that we should accept the Reforms] was evident. But, afterwards, experience showed that to co-operate with the Government was to participate in sin; to non-co-operate is to dissociate oneself from evil, to refuse to be a traitor and refuse to do injustice. There is no equal justice for all under this Government. Only on rare occasions does an Indian get justice. There is a great deal of discrimination between white and black.

[1] The meeting was held at the residence of the Maharaja of Limbdi.

[2] Satyendra Prasanna Sinha (1864-1928); first Baron of Raipur, lawyer and statesman; Under-Secretary of State for India, 1919-20; Governor of Bihar and Orissa, 1920-21; first Indian member of the Viceroy's Executive Council

Because we introduced foreign cloth into our land, our sisters have been dishonoured and people in the Punjab had to crawl on their stomachs. Three crores of people have been reduced to starvation. Even in a place where Lord Jagannath is installed, there are people so lean that their ribs show. Even He withholds His grace from us. We have been impoverished through foreign trade. India loves truthfulness. People say that Kathiawad is full of hypocrisy. Navalram[1] has said that the Kathiawadis are "sweeter than honey". When we shall make our good manners a matter of the heart, we shall have adopted non-co-operation.

Kathiawad can inspire the country with confidence and help it shed its fear. I do not believe that Kathiawad is a land of beggars; the land of warlike people like the *Kathis* and the *Miyanas* cannot be so. There can be no poverty or unmanliness in a region strong by reason of Nature's bounty, a land of wonders. If Kathiawad wills it, it can inspire the whole of India with confidence and courage. When you come to have faith, you will be able to offer your all.

The women will not suffer as they do if they lay as much store by God as by ornaments. How can we believe that the children of the land of Sudama[2] and Shri Krishna are effeminate? The spinning-wheel will feed people and will support widows, but it will not provide means for extravagance at the time of a daughter's marriage.

Kathiawad should assure me that I can write out and present demand drafts on it any time I choose. If it will, Kathiawad can completely boycott foreign cloth in a year's time. Khadi is not a sannyasi's garb. I am not a sannyasi. I have sons, a wife, sisters and relatives of every description. I love them. I accept their services. I am a fond householder and do not profess to be a sannyasi. Khadi is a symbol of nobility. I have been asking prostitutes to wear khadi, and I tell chaste women, too, that I look upon the body as unclean unless it is dressed in khadi. Just as Sita treated the beautiful clothes sent by Ravana as of less worth than even leaves, so should we regard foreign cloth as inferior to khadi.

How can women have chains of gold round their necks? At a time like this, only necklaces of yarn or *tulsi* beads are proper. At one place, a girl gave me all her ornaments. I told her that her parents might take her to task for that. She replied that she would not ask for the ornaments to be replaced before swaraj

[1] A nineteenth-century Gujarati writer

[2] A poor Brahmin, childhood friend of Lord Krishna

was won. I told her that she was yet to marry. She replied: "While India is a helpless widow, how can I think of marrying and becoming the mistress of a house?" What is this but a glimpse of the Age of Truth?

[From Gujarati]
Gujarati, 19-6-1921

97. GUJARAT'S DUTY

It may be a mark of wisdom not to embark upon a task in the first instance, but, having undertaken one, it is very necessary that we see it through. The Gujarat (Political) Conference resolved, on the holy banks of the Narmada, to collect by the end of this month 10 lakhs of rupees for the Tilak Swaraj Fund, to enrol three lakh Congress members and to make a lakh of spinning-wheels available. If the Conference doubted its capacity to accomplish all this, it could have rejected the resolution, but, actually, it embraced the resolution with enthusiasm. The Conference means the delegates from Gujarat and Kathiawad. In all seriousness they pledged themselves to complete these three tasks before June 30. If we fail to make good the pledge, we shall prove ourselves unfit for swaraj and it will be difficult for Gujarat to carry on the struggle for it. I believe what I said at the Conference, namely, that even if only one province in the country came forward to adopt complete non-co-operation, we would win swaraj. By its very nature, such action has the property of a right angle. As, in a quadrangle with equal sides, if one angle is a right angle the other three are bound to be right angles, so also if one province comes forward, the others are bound to follow suit. All that is necessary is to help people overcome their fear. If a few persons discover the truth about a creature known to be a tiger and, shedding their fear start playing with it, the others will immediately join them. One person's experience serves to teach others. This is so about swaraj too. What is necessary is for one large group of people to demonstrate their strength.

If, however, Gujarat fails in its effort even to learn the letters of the alphabet, how can it pass the final examination? The programme laid down by the Conference is merely a test of one's ability to write the letters. If we fail in this elementary test, we shall only lose faith in ourselves.

By the time this article comes out, nearly half the month will have passed. If we want to make good the pledge taken at

the Conference, everyone should see where his own duty lies and take up his share of the work. We can achieve our objective if either a large number contribute small sums according to their means or a few, defying consequences, give their all. If everyone does his duty, we shall have no difficulty in carrying out the programme.

On the basis of its capacity to pay, Gujarat's share cannot be just 10 lakhs. If it has not contributed towards public work in the past, the reason is that it did not want to. It has had its eyes always fixed on Bombay and, therefore, lacks faith in itself. How can Viramgam rest satisfied with a contribution of Rs. 12,000? And Wadhwan with six or seven thousand? These figures are indications of our apathy towards public work. There was, however, a time when it would have been difficult to collect even these amounts in Viramgam or Wadhwan. If it has been possible to collect them, it should be possible to collect even more in these two places and so too in other towns. Every big town should estimate its capacity and collect the amount falling to its share. In any case, the standards for collection which, after consulting friends, I have recommended to the public must be applied.[1] No person with a fixed salary should give less than 10 per cent of his monthly pay. People getting big salaries should of themselves give more and thus cover others whose salaries are low. Business men, lawyers, doctors and others like them should pay not less than 12 per cent. For top men among lawyers and doctors, though, how can there be a fixed percentage?

Can the lawyer, who earns Rs. 60,000 a year contribute only Rs. 5,000 and feel satisfied with that? Shri Das thought little of spending half his earnings for public work. When the idea that lawyers should give up practice was first advanced, he had quite readily offered to hand over a half of his earnings. In this way, lawyers of his standing may give generously and screen brother lawyers of weaker mind. Is it much that a man with assets and living on interest should give 2½ per cent of the value of his property? Would a man owning houses worth a lakh of rupees be doing anything special if he gave Rs. 2,500? Giving two and a half rupees for every hundred amounts to giving no more than six months' interest. Many people realize rent or interest at the rate not of five per cent but of 12 per cent of the value of the property. For such persons, paying two and a half rupees amounts to paying two and a half months' interest. If we look at the matter thus, we shall see that we can easily raise from the towns

[1] *Vide* "Notes", 8-6-1921.

in Gujarat 10 lakhs before June 30. If we have the *triveni*[1] of capacity, will and efficiency in work, Gujarat will be able to redeem its pledge with no great effort. May God help Gujarat.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 12-6-1921

98. MY NOTES

Rusting Guns

I wanted to write at greater length about my tour in the South, but I have so much to write concerning my later experiences that I must be content with a brief recital of some important memories only. I observe that, wherever there is even a small measure of faith, wherever there are workers, people give with a generous heart. I have no time to describe specific instances from my experience in the course of this tour. I realized the truth of this from what I saw at Barsi, Kurduwadi, Pandharpur and Sholapur. There is only one mill at Barsi. The owner is Shri Yashwantprasad Hariprasad of the Desai family in Bhavnagar. Though a mill-owner he takes part in every public activity of the town and makes his contribution. His way of living deserves to be adopted by other mill-owners. He has built for himself a small hut like the ones in which the workers live. He, the mill-workers and the officers joined in contributing to the Tilak Swaraj Fund. His workers appeared to be contented. Yashwantprasad has profound faith in the spinning-wheel and himself works to promote its use. He teaches even the children of the mill-workers how to spin. He wears khadi himself and exhorts others to do the same. There is a good number of other business men in Barsi but, as they did not contribute their full share, the total amount collected turned out to be less than expected.

Kurduwadi is merely a railway junction. The population is merely 2,000 and yet nearly 2,000 rupees were collected there. This, however, was due to the enthusiasm of a single friend from Kutch, Seth Raymal. Pandharpur is the Kashi of the South but, relatively, the experience there was disappointing. However, it requires a separate chapter to itself. Most saints and enlightened men of Maharashtra in olden days went to live there. Sholapur,

[1] The confluence of three holy rivers, the Ganga, the Yamuna and the Saraswati, near Prayag, Allahabad

too, would demand a separate chapter. It is known to be a big business centre in Maharashtra. The place has a beautiful temple, standing in the middle of a large tank which is known as Siddheshvar and is holy to the *Lingayats*[1]. There are some mills in Sholapur and there is other business, too. More than 10,000 rupees were collected at this place; but that was not much, considering its flourishing trade.

From Sholapur we proceeded to Karnatak. We visited Bagalkot and Bijapur. There was great enthusiasm at both places. The collections were also good, despite the famine conditions prevailing there. Shri Kaujalgi[2] holds sway in these parts. Recently, the local magistrate has even done him the kindness to serve a notice upon him. Bijapur is famous in the history of Muslim rule. It has a number of historic buildings, mosques and mausoleums. I could go and see Sultan Mahomed's tomb and the Jamma Masjid. Nobody in the world is likely to have spent on tombs as much as Muslim rulers did. The Taj Mahal is no more than a jewelled tomb. I was told that the "Round Dome"[3] of the mausoleum is world-famous. The dome rises to a height of 200 feet. There is a gallery running along the vault. One has to go up 150 steps to reach it. The diameter of the vault must be about 125 feet. Two persons standing at opposite points and talking in whispers, with their faces towards the wall, can hear each other. The Jamma Masjid at Bijapur is also an impressive structure. I saw there a hand-written Koran-e-Sharif which had its leaves beautifully ornamented with drawings of creepers. It is, however, the rusty guns and the ruined forts about which I wish to write. I saw these guns, once the symbols of imperial glory and objects of terror to the people, covered with rust and Hindu and Muslim children sitting on them and playing at horse-riding. The encircling wall, too, I saw, was a heap of ruins and I was reminded of what I had said about the guns in Colaba. I believe that, if India fully implements the non-violent non-co-operation programme, the British guns will rust, wild grass will grow where they lie buried and our children will play *gedi-dada* over the spot and in the forts built by the British Government throughout the country. Very few have put their faith in what I said. Some ridiculed it, and some pitied me for my naivete. But I become more convinced of its truth as days pass. Would anyone, looking at the

[1] Literally, the worshippers of Siva; a sect in the South

[2] Hanumantrao Kaujalgi, a Congress leader of Karnatak

[3] The *Gol-Gumbaj*

Delhi Fort, ever say that he could have imagined that the Mogul Empire would one day perish? In the days of that Empire, there must have been persons who were ridiculed by the people for thinking so. I believe, regardless of all this, that there is a greater possibility of this Empire coming down than there might have appeared in the case of the Mogul Empire. No empire can last in the face of the people's unfeigned resentment. It is the craven-hearted whom others seek to frighten. In this country I often see cripples lying full length on public pathways. Nobody threatens them because they have banished all fear from their heart as they lie there. They are quite sure that nobody will harass them in any way. Their presence causes inconvenience to thousands of passers-by but the latter endure it. In the same way, if we become as fearless as these cripples, the guns at Colaba and the fort will no longer seem ferocious beasts growling at us but appear as harmless snakes.

Unoffending Cap

As I write these notes, I read in the papers that Shri Kaujalgi appeared in a court with a white cap and was, therefore, ordered to remove it. On his refusing to comply, he was fined Rs. 200 and was ordered out of the court for an hour. At the end of the hour, he again entered the court with the same unoffending cap. He was, therefore, again ordered to remove it. He repeated his refusal and was fined Rs. 200 a second time. The magistrate then ordered him to be produced before another magistrate. Lawyers do not mind practising in courts in which such lawlessness prevails! Let the lawyers do what they will; if the people cling to the foreign cap even after hearing this, what can be more shameful than that? When innocent persons are treated as guilty, one may be sure, trumpets will soon be heralding the coming of swaraj. But the shackles of slavery will shine more brightly if, on innocent persons being punished as guilty, people come to be afraid of doing lawful things. I have seen with my own eyes long-term prisoners polishing their chains clean and being pleased with the shine. The only way to break the bonds of slavery is to be more determined in our non-co-operation the more they subject non-co-operators to repression. If in all the courts of Bijapur they see only white caps, how many persons will the magistrate fine and how will he compel payment of the fines?

Gujarat Conference

I must be brief in giving my impressions of this Conference also. The Conference should be taken as a preparation for the

forthcoming session of the Congress and from that point of view, it should be considered to have done commendable work.

The decorations at the Conference were in simple style and only swadeshi materials had been used in putting them up. Seating arrangements for all were on the ground, the President and a few others sitting on a cushioned mattress. The buntings were mostly of khadi. A swaraj flag was fluttering at the entrance to the *pandal*. People refrained from talking noisily and there was no pressure on space. Seating arrangements for women must be counted very good. The speech by the Chairman of the Reception Committee was short and couched in excellent Gujarati. He took only 15 minutes to read it out. The President's speech, too, was short, simple and framed in courteous language. It breathed as much courage as courtesy. We often assume that bluntness and fiery language are inseparable from courage and fighting spirit. Shri Vallabhbhai Patel has proved that pure strength can go with utmost civility. It took him exactly 30 minutes to read out his speech. The brevity of the two speeches saved the people much time, imposed no strain on anyone and made it possible for a great deal of work to be done in two days. The idea of morning and evening sessions saved the people from heat. This idea of holding our meetings in the early morning needs to be popularized among us. In summer, especially, all meetings should be held in the early morning. For an ailing man like me, they provided a chair. We should give up this practice and, in place of the chair, introduce the old-style *bajath*[1]. One solitary chair in the midst of others squatting on the ground or on the dais presents an unbecoming sight. We must convince people that a chair is not necessary for showing respect to a man. At one meeting, the provision of chairs led to an embarrassing situation. Only two chairs were provided, one to enable me to speak sitting and the other for the President. Then came a gentleman, a stranger, a little after the meeting had already started. Though all others sat squatting, the gentleman felt that he would be inviting loss of dignity if he did the same. I took in the situation. I did not think it would be proper to explain to him that no loss of dignity was involved in the matter. Immediately, therefore, I vacated the chair for him and I myself sat on the President's table. Had only a *bajath* been provided for me, the embarrassing situation would not have arisen. The incident was of no consequence in itself, but it holds a useful lesson.

[1] Low square table

The volunteers must be given credit for rendering good service. The results of the training given by Shri Purani were quite evident. All the same, I felt that there was room for greater efficiency. I saw that they did not quite know how to stop people from making noise. They were also wont to collect in small groups. They were perhaps lacking in courtesy to children. A nation which denies respect to its children, women and domestic servants loses its culture. Those, especially, who would serve the public should protect the weak as a part of their duty, address them with respect and make things easy for them.

Volunteers at any rate must wear nothing but khadi. Most of the delegates attending the Conference were dressed in foreign cloth. This was a painful sight. It is nine months now since the pledge of swadeshi was taken and, if even delegates do not put away the love of foreign cloth, are frightened by the heaviness of khadi clothes or feel ashamed of such clothes, it would be like the sea catching fire. Where shall we find the man who will put out such a fire? I know that the turban and the dhoti present serious difficulties. If we try, however, we can think of and adopt some changes in regard to both these matters. One requires five yards' length for a dhoti of fine count. But three and a half yards should suffice if the cloth is coarse. If we require a width of 54 inches for a dhoti of fine count, we should be able to manage with 45 inches for one of coarse cloth. There should be no difficulty at all in getting a piece of white khadi dyed and then set as a turban. Should a turban of this type be felt too heavy, one ought to carry on with a khadi cap till such time as fine khadi can be produced.

It would be a very good thing if, at the forthcoming session of the Congress, we let people see nothing but khadi in Gujarat. Will Gujarat lose anything thereby? On the contrary, it will have filled with plenty the homes of some poor people. Anyone who buys one yard of khadi adds not less than three annas to a poor man's resources. If but one yard of khadi has so much power in it, how will anybody refuse to wear it? Only the man who wears khadi with a clear purpose knows what intense patriotism it symbolizes.

Women's Sacrifices

The sight which women presented when I appealed to the public for funds is unforgettable. There was a regular stream of them, one following another. They rained jewellery and coins in profusion. The men also caught the infection and, it must be

said, gave handsomely. While, on the one hand, so much generosity was shown by both men and women, on the other I heard that two men were angry with their wives who had offered some articles of jewellery. Jewellery is the wife's property and the husband has no right of any kind with regard to it. It is my humble opinion that men should not object if women use their jewellery to help a good cause.

But I must declare myself to have been as much disappointed in regard to the women's clothes as I felt happy over their generosity. Perhaps in no other part of India has the use of English, Japanese and French saris spread as widely as in Gujarat. This matter deserves the serious attention of women. For the sake of India, for safeguarding the virtue of the women of the poorer classes in the country, the women of Gujarat should voluntarily put up with the heaviness of khadi saris. An exhibition of khadi, spinning-wheels and hand-ginning tools was organized as part of the Conference. There was no special novelty about the spinning-wheels, but they displayed a number of ingenious devices. While some were light and portable, so that one could carry them about on a journey, some were attractive in appearance or deserved praise for their strength. Perhaps there is nothing on which so much skill is being employed as what artisans at innumerable places are spending these days on the spinning-wheel. It is my prayer that we may succeed in making the forthcoming session of the Congress and the attendant exhibition models for such affairs.

SARKHEJ AND SANAND

The difference between two places, one in which preparatory work has been done and which has a few sincere workers at least and another in which no such work has been done, was clearly seen at Sarkhej and Sanand. At Sarkhej, 1,200 rupees could be collected in one hour from a population of about 2,000, while at Sanand, which has 5,000 residents and enjoys a good trade, the collection came to a mere 500. There is a national school in Sarkhej. There was complete quiet and order in the meeting at Sarkhej, men and women attended in equal numbers and a joint meeting served the purpose. At Sanand, separate meetings for men and women were held and at both there was no end of noise and disorder. The meeting at Sarkhej was open to *Antyajas* also. From among the 20 families of *Antyajas* there, they had collected Rs. 32 for the Tilak Swaraj Fund. In Sanand, we were obliged to visit the *Antyajas* separately and received from them about Rs. 7.

I do not wish to run down Sanand by this criticism. I am certain that, if a few men of character work as volunteers in Sanand and induce some local gentleman to take interest in their work, the place can stand alongside of Sarkhej. I hope that some volunteer or other will go and post himself in Sanand and the needed awakening will follow. I suggest to the residents of Sanand that they should, without delay, put the public work there on an organized basis and see that the place gets the credit it deserves.

Harming Other Countries

Referring to my statement that I would never be guilty of seeking India's good at the expense of any other country, a young man asks me what I have to say about the great harm to England which is bound to follow from the spinning-wheel movement and non-co-operation. Such questions are asked again and again. Questions which spin very fine sound good; however, if the questioners give up spinning with their mind and take to spinning with the wheel, their mental knots will get unravelled by themselves. I do not at all believe that any harm can come to England from the spinning-wheel movement or non-co-operation. They are both means of self-purification. They will purify us and England as well. Just as we may think that the closing of liquor-booths will harm the proprietors and the customers, so may we take a like view of non-co-operation and the spinning-wheel. I do not, besides, believe in setting fire to my house so that I might go on a pilgrimage. As I would not think of harming a foreign country, so would I not permit harm to my own. Just as trade with Manchester harms India and, therefore, deserves to be given up, so India's opium trade with China harms the latter and I, therefore, believe that it must be given up. If anybody has been exploiting us and if we seek by non-violent efforts to end the exploitation, no harm can come to the other party.

Hindu-Muslim Unity

This same friend is still sceptical about Hindu-Muslim unity. He writes : "So long as Muslims kill even one mute creature in the country or follow the practice of suspending chameleons in their *taboots*[1], unity is impossible." I see sheer ignorance in this view. Crores of Hindus kill other animals and, in the name of religion, suspend creatures as the Muslims do the chameleon and yet we

[1] Tableaux taken out in procession during Moharram

do not fight with them. Why, then, should we quarrel with the Muslims? Tolerance is also one of the virtues of Hinduism, as it is of other faiths. Out of regard and love for the Hindus, Muslims refrain these days from killing the cow. I give them my thanks for this, and I think everybody should do the same.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 12-6-1921

99. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, AHMEDABAD[1]

June 12, 1921

This is Maulana Mahomed Ali's first visit to Ahmedabad. You have given him a cordial welcome and are naturally eager to hear him. I did not wish to stand between you and him for long but, when I arrived here, I felt as if stabbed with a dagger. I cannot now finish in a few minutes. When, at Sabarmati, I learnt that the Maulana Saheb had already arrived, I felt really glad and I forthwith came over here. But what was the first thing I heard on arriving here? That the workers had not reported themselves for duty today. They went to the mills and came away. By acting in this way, they have brought shame on themselves, on Anasuyabehn and on Banker. How you have brought shame on these two, you may reason out for yourselves. In any case, you have most certainly put me to shame.

Mill-workers will not succeed in exploiting me. To tell the truth, I believe that nobody in the country can exploit me. I, who am striving for the freedom of the country, shall not be a slave of workers. Perhaps you imagine that Anasuyabehn is only a woman and she can be hoodwinked; and Gandhi is an old man, a withering leaf, all the time out touring the country, and he too can be fooled. But you will not succeed. Just now you heard the poem about a tyrant sung by our friend Akhtar. One who wishes to be free from the tyranny of the oppressor will not seek to enslave others. You would have honoured Maulanas Shaukat Ali and Mahomed Ali best by remaining in the mills and working. You took three holidays to celebrate the *Id*. Despite that, yesterday, too, I forced myself to gulp the bitter draught.[2] But it is impossible for me to swallow it today.

[1] The meeting was addressed by Mahomed Ali. Gandhiji presided.

[2] The workers had taken the day off to attend a meeting addressed by Shaukat Ali.

You seem to think that Gandhi really wants violence to break out but, being a 'big' man, he cannot say so openly and, therefore, when he asks you to avoid violence, you must understand him to mean that you should resort to it. It is not right for you to draw such a wrong-headed conclusion. You did that in April, 1919, and killed two innocent persons. Do not persuade yourselves that Gandhi is a big man and, therefore, when he urges you not to set fire to buildings or draw the sword, your duty is to do the opposite. Let me warn you that, if you commit a similar mistake again, you will find that your knife has cut Gandhi's throat. If you think that Gandhi, who loves you like his kith and kin, means just the opposite of what he openly says, you will be cutting his throat with your knife. I tremble at the very thought of your committing such mistakes. I ask you: what business had you to leave your mills? A few men shouted at you and you walked out! It is not manliness that you have exhibited by running away in this way. If Muslims want to save the Khilafat and Hindus their Hinduism and both their motherland, then they will have to be brave as lions. They cannot afford to be lambs. We do not want to follow the ways of lawless men. We do not seek to save Islam and Hinduism in that way. We are out to show that we are brave men. We do not want to meet deceit with deceit. We do not want to kill the man who comes to kill us, but have decided to lay down our own lives instead. Understand this very clearly. By their conduct today, the workers have disgraced me, have insulted the Maulana Saheb and obstructed the work for swaraj, the Khilafat and India. They have checked the rising moon of swaraj, have eclipsed it. How can you do anything which may make me lose heart—me who am wholly engrossed in one single task? I had such faith in the workers. I thought the noble workers who, sitting daily under a tree for 23 days,[1] took a pledge with God as witness, would never forget Him. But today you did not think about the Khilafat, about Hinduism and about India.

Now, therefore, as an act of penitence you should beg the mill-owners' pardon and put in the hours for which you have kept away from work. There will be nobility in doing so. You are afraid that the mill-owners will trample you down. Such fear becomes lambs. The strong will not feel afraid in this way. They

[1] The reference is to the meetings under the *babul* tree at Ahmedabad where Gandhiji used to address the mill-workers on strike; *vide* Vol. XIV, p. 217.

cannot be crushed under foot. But everyone in the world will seek to trample upon a man who is without such strength. In fact, non-co-operation means learning to be men and teaching others to be so.

If you want us to work for you, do not understand us to mean the opposite of what we say. With what face can I now approach the mill-owners for help in the cause of swaraj and the Khilafat? They will roundly tell me that my work will bring ruin to India. If they have earned millions, they will say, they have also given something to the workers, and they must, in return, make good use of the money they give them. If the workers go on spending money the way they do at present, these mill-owners will tell me, India will forget all self-control. I do not wish this to happen but that is the path you seem to have taken. Had I been a mill-owner myself, I would have shown you that you could never succeed in making me your slave. They are lambs before you at present. The mill-owners and you are both waiting for a chance to crush each other and each side fears the other. And so you do not want that, as a result of your seeking their pardon, they should gain the upper hand.

I wish to tell you about the regret expressed by the Ali Brothers. Do you think they have done so to escape imprisonment? They are in no way afraid of it. All three of us are working so that we may be hanged during this year. Have they, then, expressed regret for your sake? Not at all. They have done so for the sake of others who are working sincerely to secure justice on the Khilafat issue. I told them that their speeches were much too vehement and some persons might conclude from them that they wished to incite them to violence. They accepted my humble advice and declared frankly to the whole country that they did not want violence. The Brothers know that peace and the sword are no friends of each other. They have declared that, if non-co-operation fails to solve the Khilafat issue, they will take up the sword and kill the enemy or be killed themselves and thus force a solution. My own religion forbids me to take up arms. I would not kill anybody. I would lay down my own life to save Hinduism rather than kill another. Despite this difference between the Ali Brothers and myself, I have been able to convince them that, at the present time, it would be best for us not to take up arms. They have not expressed regret in order to save themselves from being imprisoned. It is, however, wrong to invite imprisonment by losing control over our emotions. If we try to purify ourselves and make sacrifices, and if the tyrant arrests us for doing so, the world will spit

upon him. If a sincere, holy man is sent to the gallows, the oppressor will invite upon himself the contempt of the entire world. We wish that the Government lays its hands on us and hangs us. If Ahmedabad, if India, views in a different light the regret expressed by the Ali Brothers, they are wrong. Day by day, we are growing stronger in our nobility. You should cultivate discipline and be men of nobility. If you do not like a particular thing and, having expressed your disapproval, you resist it, one can understand that; but how can it be tolerated if you take the law into your own hands? If you learn this truth, you will have it in your hands to secure justice on the Punjab and the Khilafat issues and win swaraj.

Handbills addressed to workers have been distributed today. It is your duty to contribute to the Tilak Swaraj Fund, to get yourselves enrolled as members of the Congress and to introduce the spinning-wheel in your homes. Rest assured that if you do so, you will have insured yourselves against famine. Mill-workers should not wear mill-made cloth; they should realize that mill-cloth is for the use of the very poor.

I wish to tell you a word or two as regards my relations with the Ali Brothers. I do not think we are any the less close to each other than brothers born of the same mother. I have known them from the time of my visit to Delhi in 1915. I have not left them, nor they me, since that day. They are orthodox Muslims, and I claim to be a strict Hindu. They do not wish that I should compromise my religion, nor I that they should compromise theirs. Though adhering to our respective faiths, we have developed such relations that we are ready to mount the gallows together and be reduced to ashes. Both Hinduism and Islam possess this nobility.

And now I request the Maulana Saheb to address you and give you his message.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 16-6-1921

100. LETTER TO RANCHHODDAS PATWARI

June 13, 1921

RESPECTED BHAI RANCHHODDAS[1],

You may differ from me on the issue of *Antyajas*, but I should like you to contribute, and persuade others to contribute, to the [Tilak] Swaraj Fund for helping the spinning-wheel movement and educational work. I hope for much from you. Chi. Chhaganlal showed me the article you wrote. I have not been able to read it, however. I shall do so when I get time.

Respectful greetings from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the original in Gujarati: C.W. 2797; also G.N. 4115. Courtesy: the Patwari family

101. LETTER TO PRABHASHANKAR PATTANI[2]

AHMEDABAD,
June 13, 1921

DEAR FRIEND,

Correspondents from Bhavnagar tell me that you are not opposed to all of my activities. I certainly expect help from you, and from everyone else, for the spinning-wheel movement and educational work. I should like you to contribute to the Swaraj Fund, and persuade others also to do so, the contributions being earmarked for these causes.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 3177; also S.N. 27769 and G.N. 5864

[1] Dewan of Gondal

[2] Sir Prabhashankar Pattani, Dewan of the former Bhavnagar State in Saurashtra

102. TO WOMEN

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
Jeth Sud 9, Samvat 1977 [*June 14, 1921*]

This is my last leaflet. I do not know what effect these leaflets have produced so far. If even a single class of people to whom they are addressed respond fully to the appeal, we should certainly succeed in collecting 10 lakhs by the end of June.

No other class of people in the country has shown evidence of as much awakening as the women. In the past they never attended national meetings in any great number. But now they go in their thousands to meetings everywhere. To a man of faith like me, this very fact is an auspicious sign. It tells me that we are nearing the day when we shall have the rule of dharma.

Even if other classes of people in the country do nothing to uphold its honour, women by themselves can uphold it. They have at all times preserved dharma, have laid down their lives for its sake. Women like Sita and Damayanti have endured untold hardships in following dharma.

Women, in their large-heartedness, even keep alive hundreds of superstitions and senseless practices. If these same women realize the importance of national work, is there anything they cannot do? The national treasury would not remain unfilled after that.

The late Lokamanya Tilak's name is not unknown to women, nor is his memory less dear to them. His strength of character sheds lustre on India and his self-sacrifice is a sustaining memory for the country. Gujarat has been called upon to contribute 10 lakhs to a fund for perpetuating his memory and establishing swaraj. Women can give cash and jewellery to this Fund. What should women have to do with jewellery in these times? How can they have the heart to wear ornaments when crores of Indians go hungry and tyranny stalks the land? Was Sitaji in Ashokvatika decked in jewellery? Were there any ornaments on Damayanti's person when she went crying in a frenzy of grief in the forest? Was Taramati bedecked in necklaces of pearls and diamonds when she accompanied Harishchandra in his wanderings? To me at any rate it seems an unworthy thing to wear jewellery in these times when *adharma* prevails.

To those women who keep jewellery as provision against a rainy day, I will only say this: "If you trust God, that trust will

help you more than your jewellery. Remember that there are crores of women in India who do not own even a small ring of gold weighing no more than a few grains and who have nowhere to lay their heads on. God provides food even to these. If you, too, feel no shame in doing physical work, your sacred hands and feet will serve you better than your jewellery will. God will assuredly give food to those to whom He has given teeth. No honest person who is prepared to work has at any time gone without food. It is only the lazy who feel compelled to depend on jewellery. Let women shake off laziness and also discard jewellery.

The money which women contribute will be so used that it will serve the same purpose as jewellery for it will be spent for supplying spinning-wheels to poor women and imparting the right kind of education to our children. In other words, the money and the jewellery donated by women will profit none else but women. The man who keeps his earnings and spends them for his own pleasures is regarded as a selfish fellow and a traitor to the family, while the man who puts his earnings in the family safe gets the same benefit from their use as the former from his, but is looked upon as a selfless man and a servant of the family. Serving the country means looking upon the country as one's family. Of the money which we contribute to the national treasury, too, we get the full advantage. Just as our fellow-countrymen get the benefit of the money we put into this treasury, so do we have the benefit of the money which they put into it. Thus, the women who give any money or jewellery to the national fund will lose nothing at all.

Women can also persuade their husbands and other members of their families to help in this matter. It often happens that, owing to the extravagant habits of their womenfolk, men are not able to contribute to national causes as much as they would like to. At times, women actually stop their husbands from contributing. I appeal to them to desist from this and to encourage the men to give something. I am also not ignorant of the fact that there are many women who even urge their menfolk to give more rather than less and succeed in their attempts. Let other women follow the example of these.

It is my prayer to those women who read this leaflet to persuade others to read it. I hope that women will not be content with giving something themselves but will also induce their friends to do so.

Obtain a receipt from the centre where you pay.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 16-6-1921

103. NOTES

That Apology

The Ali Brothers' apology still continues to tax people's minds. I continue to receive letters expostulating with me for having gone to the Viceroy at all. Some consider that I have bungled the whole affair; others blame the Brothers for having for once weakened, and that in deference to me. I know that in a short while the storm will blow over. For, in spite of all I have heard and read, I feel that I did the right thing in responding to the Viceroy's wish to know my views. It would have been wrong on my part to have waited for a formal written invitation from His Excellency. I feel, too, that I gave the best advice possible in the interests of Islam and India, when I asked the Brothers to make the statement issued by them. The Ali Brothers have showed humility and courage of a high order in making the statement. They have shown that they are capable of sacrificing their pride and their all for the sake of their faith and country. They have served the cause by making the statement, as they would have injured it by declining to make it.

A Remonstrance

In spite of all that conviction in me, I am not surprised at the remonstrances I am receiving. They but show that the methods now being pursued are new, that the country will not surrender a little of its just demands, and for their satisfaction, it wishes to rely purely upon its own strength.

I give below the relevant parts of the strongest argument in condemnation of my advice and its acceptance by the Brothers. The letter, moreover, is written by one of the greatest among the non-co-operators. It is not written for publication at all. But I know the writer will not mind my sharing it with the reader. For I have no doubt that he represents the sentiments of several thoughtful non-co-operators. It is my humble duty to discuss the issues arising from the incident, and the implications of non-co-operation. It is only by patient reasoning that I hope to be able to demonstrate the truth, the beauty and the reasonableness of non-co-operation. Here then are the extracts:

> The statement of the Brothers, taken by itself and read without reference to what has preceded and followed it, is a manly enough docu-

ment. If, in the heat of the moment, they have said things which, they now find, may reasonably be taken to have a tendency to incite to violence, they have, in publishing their regret, taken the only honourable course open to public men of their position. I should also have been prepared to justify the undertaking they have given for the future, had that undertaking been addressed to those of their co-workers, who, unlike themselves, do not believe in the cult of violence in any circumstances whatever. But the general words 'public assurance and promise to all who may require it' cannot, in the circumstances, leave anyone in doubt as to the particular party who did require such 'assurance and promise' and at whose bidding it was given. The Viceroy's speech has now made it perfectly clear, and we have the indisputable fact that the leader of the non-co-operation movement has been treating with the Government, and has secured the suspension of the prosecution of the Brothers, by inducing them to give a public apology and an undertaking.

In this view of the case, —and I fail to see what other view is possible—very serious questions affecting the whole movement arise for consideration. Indeed it seems to me that the whole principle of non-co-operation has been given away.

I am not one of those who fight shy of the very name of Government, nor of those who look upon an eventual settlement with the Government as the only means of obtaining redress of our wrongs and establishing swaraj. I believe in what you have constantly taught, viz., that the achievement of swaraj rests entirely and solely with us. At the same time, I do not, nor so far as I am aware do you, exclude the possibility of a settlement with the Government under proper conditions. Such settlement, however, can only relate to principles, and can have nothing to do with the convenience or safety of individuals. In a body of co-workers you cannot make distinctions between man and man, and the humblest of them is entitled to the same protection at the hands of the leaders as the most prominent. Scores, if not hundreds, of our men have willingly gone to gaol for using language far less strong than that indulged in by the Brothers. Some at least of these could easily have been saved by giving a similar apology and undertaking, and yet it never occurred to anyone to advise them to do so. On the contrary, their action was applauded by the leaders and the whole of the non-co-operationist Press. The case which more forcibly than any other comes to my mind at the moment is that of Hamid Ahmad, who has recently been sentenced at Allahabad to transportation for life and forfeiture of property. Is there any reason why this man should not be saved? I find Maulana Mahomed Ali pays him a high tribute in his Bombay speech of the 30th May. What consolation this tribute will bring to Hamid Ahmad from a man similarly situated who has saved himself by an apology and an under-

taking, I cannot say. Then there are so many others rotting in gaol who have committed no offence, and a great many more already picked out for the same fate. Is it enough for us to send them our good wishes from the safe positions we ourselves enjoy?

The Viceroy in his speech has made it clear that the only definite result of the several interviews you had with him is the apology and the undertaking from the Brothers. You have also made it quite clear in your subsequent speeches that our campaign is to go on unabated. It seems that no point involving any principle has been settled, except what needed no negotiating on either side, viz., that there is to be no incitement to violence. I do not say that, in this state of things, there should have been no treating with the Government, though much can be said in support of that view. When it was found that the game had to be played out, it would have been quite legitimate for two such honourable adversaries as yourself and Lord Reading to agree to the rules of the game, so as to avoid foul play on either side. These rules would, of course, apply to all who took part in the game, and not to certain favoured individuals only. The most essential thing was to agree upon the weapons to be used. While certain local Governments profess to meet propaganda by propaganda, they are really using repression of the worst type. Many other similar points would, in my opinion, be proper subjects of discussion, even when no agreement could be arrived at on the main issue.

I hope you will not misunderstand me. I yield to none in my admiration of the sacrifices made by the Brothers, and consider it a high privilege to have their personal friendship. What has been preying upon my mind for some time past is, that we, who are directly responsible for many of our workers going to gaol and suffering other hardships, are ourselves practically immune. For example, the Government could not possibly have devised any form of punishment, which would cause some of us more pain and mental suffering, than sending innocent boys to gaol for distributing leaflets, while the author remained free. I think the time has come when the leaders should welcome the opportunity to suffer, and stoutly decline all offers of escape. It is in this view of the case that I have taken exception to the action of the Ali Brothers. Personally, I love them.

MISAPPREHENSION

The letter breathes nobility and courage. And those very qualities have led to a misapprehension of the situation. The unfortunate utterance of the Viceroy is responsible for the misunderstanding.

The apology of the Brothers is not made to the Government. It is addressed and tendered to friends, who drew their attention to their speeches. It was certainly not given 'at the bidding of the

Viceroy'. I betray no confidence when I say that it was not even suggested by him. As soon as I saw the speeches, I stated, in order to prove the *bona fides* of the Brothers and the entirely non-violent character of the Movement, that I would invite them to make a statement. There was no question of bargaining for their freedom. Having had my attention drawn to their speeches, I could not possibly allow them to go to gaol (if I could prevent it) *on the ground of proved incitement to violence.* I have given the same advice to all the accused, and told them that, if their speeches were violent, they should certainly express regret. A non-co-operator could not do otherwise. Had the Brothers been charged before a court of law, I would have advised them to apologize to the court for some of the passages in their speeches which, in my opinion, were capable of being interpreted to mean incitement to violence. It is not enough for a non-co-operator not to mean violence, it is necessary that his speech must not be capable of a contrary interpretation by reasonable men. We must be above suspicion. The success of the Movement depends upon its retaining its absolute purity. I therefore suggest to the writer and to those who may think like him that the whole principle of non-co-operation has not only not been 'given away' as the writer contends, but its non-violent character has been completely vindicated by the Brothers' apology, and the case therefore greatly strengthened.

Who Is Free?

What, however, is galling to the writer is that whilst the Brothers have remained free, the lesser lights are in prison for having spoken less strongly than they.

That very fact shows the real character of non-co-operation. A non-co-operator may not bargain for personal safety. It was open to me to bargain for the liberty of the others. *Then* I would have given away the whole case for non-co-operation. I did not bargain even for the Brothers' liberty. I stated in the clearest possible terms that, no matter what the Government did, it would be my duty on meeting the Brothers to advise them to make the statement to save their honour.

Unconditional Honesty

We must 'play the game', whether the Government reciprocate or not. Indeed, I for one do not *expect* the Government to play the game. It was when I came to the conclusion that there was no honour about the Government that I non-co-operated. Lord Reading may wish, does wish to do right and justice.

But he will not be permitted to. If the Government were honourable, they would have set free all the prisoners as soon as they decided not to prosecute the Ali Brothers. If the Government were honourable, they would not have caught youths and put them in prison, whilst they left Pandit Motilal Nehru the arch-offender free. If the Government were honourable, they would not countenance bogus Leagues of Peace. If the Government were honourable, they would have long ago repented for their heinous deeds, even as we have for every crime committed by our people in Amritsar, Kasur, Viramgam, Ahmedabad, and recently in Malegaon. I entertain no false hopes or misgivings about the Government. If the Government were tomorrow to arrest the Ali Brothers, I would still justify the apology. They have acted in the square, and we must all do likewise. Indeed, inasmuch as the Government are still arresting people for disaffection, they are arresting the Ali Brothers.

The writer is, again, not taking a correct view of non-co-operation in thinking that non-co-operators, who are in gaol, are less fortunate than we who are outside. For me, solitary confinement in a prison cell, without any breach on my part of the code of non-co-operation, or private or public morals, will be freedom. For me, the whole of India is a prison, even as the master's house is to his slave. A slave, to be free, must continuously rise against his slavery and be locked up in his master's cell for his rebellion. The cell-door is the door to freedom. I feel no pity for those who are suffering hardships in the gaols of the Government. Innocence under an evil Government must ever rejoice on the scaffold. It was the easiest thing for the Brothers to have rejected my advice, and embraced the opportunity of joining their comrades in the gaols. I may inform the reader that, when during the last stage of the South African struggle I was arrested,[1] my wife and all friends heaved a sigh of relief. It was in the prisons of South Africa that I had leisure and peace from strife and struggle.

It is perhaps now clear why the non-co-operation prisoners may not make any statement to *gain their freedom*.

Disaffection a Virtue

To illustrate the dishonourable character of the existing system of Government, I have two telling instances before me. Principal Gidwani, the Vice-Chancellor of the Gujarat Vidyapith, has received a summons from Madras to answer the charge

[1] This was in November 1913; *vide* Vol. XII, p. 262.

of disaffection in connection with a speech delivered two months ago at Bezwada. There is no question of incitement to violence, as the charge itself would show. Section 124A, under which Mr. Gidwani is charged, runs: "Whoever . . . . attempts to bring into hatred or contempt, or excites or attempts to excite disaffection towards His Majesty or the Government established by law in British India, shall be punished. . . ." No one preaches hatred or disaffection towards the King. The disaffection which Mr. Gidwani must have preached, the Ali Brothers are preaching ceaselessly. No one, perhaps, excels me in harbouring and promoting disaffection towards it. Indeed, I hold it to be the duty of every good man to be disaffected towards the existing Government, if he considers it, as non-co-operators consider it, to be evil. Having decided not to prosecute the Ali Brothers, the Government should have stopped all prosecutions except for violence. But under the existing system of Government, even an ex-Lord Chief Justice of England cannot prevent a divorce between profession and practice, unless he tears himself from his environment, and supersedes the corrupt traditions of a corrupt system.

Afflicted Sind

A friend sends me the following graphic description of the realities of repression in Sind:

> The Commissioner in Sind has issued a confidential circular asking the *Mukhtiarkars* to start a counter-agitation against non-co-operation. The *Mukhtiarkars* in some places are taking strange steps to check non-co-operation. Besides adopting the frank and open method of starting anti-non-co-operation committees, to which one may not take objection, they have at some places asked the people not to allow the non-co-operation propagandists to lodge with them, and have asked the panchayats to prevent people from attending their lectures. Cases have actually happened in which the propagandists, after they had lodged at a place (Badin), were asked by the host to leave. At Khipro, in Thar Parkar district, a lecturer, while at some distance from the town, was assaulted by a masked man who did not touch his money, but pulled him down from the camel and struck him with a heavy stick. He took away his swaraj banner and shawl, leaving the watch and money untouched. It is known all over the district that the assault was instigated by a well-known official, but owing to the terrorism of the police which prevails there, people do not come forward to give statements. Things are worse in the Sakkar district. About three weeks ago, the Sakkar District Conference was held at Ubauvro at a distance of 10 miles from the railway station. The Deputy Collector of

the division told the *gharriwallas* not to give their carriages to the wearers of Gandhi caps. The *gharriwallas* dared not incur the displeasure of the Deputy Collector, and they consented to this through fear. When the President, Mr. Virumal Begraj, Mr. Mulchand, a non-co-operating pleader of Sakkar and others arrived at the station from Sakkar, no carriages were available. A bullock-cart driver, who in the end agreed to take them, received a beating from a police Jamadar, and so he also declined to go. The President and others had to walk about a mile in the sun to reach a neighbouring village, where the panchayat got them conveyances, which brought them to Ubauvro in the heat of the day. At Ubauvro, the people would not come to the Conference, as they had been told that in their absence their houses would be broken into. Arrangements were therefore made by the volunteers of the Conference to patrol the town while the people attended the Conference. During the Conference, a Mohammedan backed up by the C. I. D. officials insisted on speaking, but would not say on what resolution. When after all allowed to speak, he attacked one of the workers present in offensive language, but people bore with him patiently. After a short time, another, without any provocation, fell upon two volunteers, and belaboured them and two neighbours with blows and shoes. The persons assaulted did not retaliate. Throughout the Conference, the organizers were living in constant apprehension of an outbreak of violence, but in spite of the persistent efforts of the agents of the officials, their incitement to violence proved futile. The *gharriwallas* refused to take the Conference delegates even on the return journey. At Mirpur Mathelo, where the party got down on the way, Maulvi Taj Mahomed was openly insulted by some of the officials present at the meeting, but he and the audience bore these insults without retaliating by word or deed. Things are daily growing worse in the district since the Conference. The *Mukhtiarkars* that side have been holding meetings of Mohammedans and telling them that the Hindus were beguiling them and deceiving them. The Mohammedans have therefore been openly telling the Hindus that if they lodge the non-co-operators with them, they (Mohammedans) would commit thefts in the houses of Hindus. In one village, the Congress party got down at the local temple. Soon after, about 30 Mohammedans armed with lathis surrounded the temple, saying that they were waiting to beat the lecturers. In the end, the temple-keeper persuaded the party to leave by another door. At Ghotki, Mr. Choithram Valecha, the young Secretary of the Sakkar Congress Committee, was surrounded by about 30 or 40 Mohammedans armed with lathis. He stood calmly, prepared to receive the beating. At this, a number of young Hindus came up to Mr. Valecha and sat down quietly by him. The local Hindu panchayat, becoming aware of the situation, sent men for Mr. Valecha and the two or three other Congress volun-

teers accompanying him. When they went to the panchayat, the 30 or 40 armed Mohammedans followed them and sat in the panchayat meeting. They said that they wanted to beat Mr. Valecha. The panchayat appealed to Mr. Valecha to leave the town. He replied that he woud leave the town when he had finished his work there, and not before. The panchayat seeing him firm, asked the Mohammedans to leave, so that it might proceed with its work. The Mohammedans only laughed in return, refusing to leave the meeting. After fruitlessly waiting for one hour, the panchayat saw no alternative but to persuade Mr. Valecha to leave the town accompanied by about 40 Hindus, who saw him off at the station. No step has been taken by the higher officials, so far as we know, against any one of those who have adopted these methods of threatening, coercion, actual violence and threats of violence to prevent the message of the Congress being carried to the villages. Are these the methods with which Lord Reading or Sir George Lloyd[1] wishes to fight the Movement?

The last sentence is evidently a friendly hit at me. It is to remind me that I have said some complimentary things about Lord Reading and Sir George Lloyd. My compliments stand notwithstanding these revelations. They prove the essence of my charge against the system, that it makes the best of administrators powerless for good. Sir George, probably, has as much influence over the Commissioner of Sind as he has over a street urchin. He has to fear the former, and can, if he wishes, even frighten the latter. The great feat of Lord Reading's is to invite Mr. Thompson of the Punjab fame to accept a higher post, and succeed in inducing him to condescend to do so. Sir George Lloyd, where he can personally supervise, shows himself to be tactful and yielding as a rule. Lord Reading can procure palliatives, as in the case just mentioned. But Sir George will not resign, because the Commissioner of Sind says he is as good as Governor Lloyd. Nor would Lord Reading resign, because the officials in the plains laugh at his intentions to do justice. Both honestly believe that, without them, things might at least have been worse. Non-co-operation has stepped in to show to all who care that they may not flirt with evil and hope to do good. When the basis is evil, a superstructure of good adds strength to evil. It would be wrong to blame such administrators because they fail, for they fail in spite of themselves. Our non-co-operation will open their eyes to the depth of the evil that is in the system if we will discriminate between the system and its administrators, all of whom certainly are not bad.

[1] Governor of Bombay and Sind, which then constituted a single province

But all this academic discussion about the merits and demerits of administrators can bring little comfort to the Sindhi sufferers. I tender my congratulations to them for their courage and patience under very trying circumstances. If they continue to suffer patiently and bravely, the end will be brought nearer by this unbridled and unscrupulous repression. We must try, by patient endurance, to win over to us our misguided countrymen who become easy tools in the hands of unprincipled officials. Gradually, as in other parts of India, so in Sind, the villagers will shed the fear of the officials, and welcome Congress and Khilafat men as their real friends and deliverers. If we have faith, presently it will become impossible to play the Mohammedans against the Hindus and *vice versa*.

Khadi in Temples

Foreign cloth has made such encroachments upon our life that we use it even for sacred purposes. Thus I noticed the use of foreign cloth for the decoration of idols in Puri and Ayodhya, and, indeed, in almost all the temples I have visited. Even the sacred thread is not always handmade. It refreshes me, therefore, to find a correspondent from Sind sending the news that Acharya Gidwani of the Gujarat Vidyapith was the first, when he recently visited Sind, to present a khadi cover for the Granth Saheb instead of foreign silk which is usually presented. I hope the good example will be followed by all devotees and foreign cloth replaced in all temples by khadi.

A Parent's Duty

> This year, my third son aged 21 years has passed his B.A. with honours at an enormous expense. He does not wish to enter Government service. He wants to take up national service only. My family consists of twelve members. I have still to educate five boys. I had an estate, which has been sold to pay a debt of Rs. 2,000. In educating my three sons, I have spent all my earnings, and all this in the hope that my third son would secure the highest degree in the University, and then try to retrieve the position I have almost lost. I had expected him to be able to take up the whole burden of my family. But now I am almost led to think that I must give my family up to ruin. There is a conflict of duties on the one hand and motives on the other. I seek your careful consideration and advice.

This is a typical letter. And it is the universality, almost, of the attitude, that set me against the present system of education years ago, and made me change the course of the education of all

my boys and others with (in my opinion) excellent results. The hunt after position and status has ruined many a family, and has made many depart from the path of rectitude. Who does not know what questionable things fathers of families in need of money for their children's education have considered it their duty to do? I am convinced that we are in for far worse times, unless we change the whole system of our education. We have only touched the fringe of an ocean of children. The vast mass of them remain without education, not for want of will but of ability and knowledge on the part of the parents. There is something radically wrong, especially for a nation so poor as ours, when parents have to support so many grown-up children, and give them a highly expensive education without the children making any immediate return. I can see nothing wrong in the children, from the very threshold of their education, paying for it in work. The simplest handicraft suitable for all, required for the whole of India, is undoubtedly spinning along with the previous processes. If we introduced this in our educational institutions, we should fulfil three purposes: make education self-supporting, train the bodies of the children as well as their minds, and pave the way for a complete boycott of foreign yarn and cloth. Moreover, the children thus equipped will become self-reliant and independent. I would suggest to the correspondent that he should invite all the members of his family to contribute to its upkeep by spinning or weaving. Under my scheme, no child is entitled to education who does not spin a minimum quantity of yarn. Such families will acquire a prestige for self-respect and independence not hitherto dreamt of. This scheme does not exclude a liberal education, but on the contrary brings it within the easy reach of every boy or girl, and restores literary training to its original dignity by making it primarily a means of mental and moral culture, and only secondarily and indirectly a means of livelihood.

Young India, 15-6-1921

104. THE LESSON OF ASSAM

My indictment of the Bengal Government, in the name of humanity, is this that they have oppressed the poor. Where pity was needed, they have employed violence; where tenderness was required, they have brought down their Gurkha soldiers; where human nature itself was calling aloud for sympathy and compassion, they have forfeited the good name of a humane Government. And, what is an added injury,

when this brutal outrage has been committed, they have called in their Director of Public Information to justify it to the public through the columns of the daily press.

* * *

The issue before the whole of India today and not merely before Bengal is simply this. The Government not only of Bengal, but of India, by its actions, has come more and more to side with the vested interests, with the capitalists, with the rich, with the powerful, against the poor and the oppressed. That is the terrible indictment. That is why the poor, in their misery, have flocked to the banner of Mahatma Gandhi, who is himself the poorest of the poor, and who understands his own poor people. That is why they are even beginning to refuse such help as Government itself is still willing to offer. There was no more fateful sign of these critical days in which we live than that which was told me by an eye-witness at Naihati. These poor Assam-returned labourers were actually starving. The steaming cooked rice was put before them. But when they heard that Government had provided it, they refused to touch it. They were frightened that it was a plot to bring them back on to the plantations. But when the Seva Samiti workers brought them uncooked rice from the people, they were so ravenous that they began to eat the hard rice grains uncooked.

This is a new and ominous event in the history of English rule in India. Those who are not in the midst of the revolution which is going on before our eyes, and who are seated amid their files, will be prudent if they will take timely warning. The Day of Judgment has begun for all. There is now one supreme question which Government will have to face. 'Are you on the side of the rich, or are you on the side of the poor? Are you on the side of Mammon, or are you on the side of God?

The reader will recognize the foregoing passages if he has read and wept over the considered written address of Mr. Andrews, delivered in Calcutta just after his return from the scene of the Assam tragedy, which is as yet by no means over. Mr. Andrews writes and says what he thinks. He does not hide the truth from himself or others. He wears himself out in ceaselessly serving humanity. He is as ready to confess his errors as he is to bring charges against the highest in the land, if he finds them to be true. And just because he is true, staunch and godfearing, some newspapers dismiss him with contempt when they do not abuse him. Yet his statements about Fiji, South Africa, East Africa, Ceylon, the Punjab, remain as true today as when they were made. Most of them have been admitted by the respective authorities. In every one of the cases, he has succeeded in helping the poor and the needy. He will survive many more attacks on his reputation.

But the purpose of writing these lines is not to defend Mr. Andrews. My object in referring to the Assam tragedy is to save my own conscience, and draw a moral from it. As soon as the coolies struck work, I received a wire asking me to go to the scene of what has developed into a national affliction. But I telegraphed and wrote to all I could think of. I had not the courage to leave the work in hand. No man dare leave the service to which he is called, however humble it may be, for answering a call to another, however high it may be, unless there is a clear way open to it. I found none. I could not leave the task in hand. The dumb labourers and God will forgive me if I have erred. For I feel that I am fully serving the labourers whilst I am occupied with the ceaseless prosecution of the Bezwada programme. My grief over my helplessness is all the greater because, somehow or other, the labourers have come to think that they will find me by their side, wherever and whenever they may be in trouble. I am humble enough to know that, in the vast majority of cases, I can send them nothing but my heartfelt prayers and sympathy. The spirit is indeed willing, but the flesh is incapable. I hear, I feel and fret over the hopeless incapacity to help.

Happily God is as powerful as man is weak. He works through an infinitude of agencies. He has Andrewses and Dases ever ready at his beck and call. I remain happy in the faith that God leaves no misery uncared for. We can but do our allotted task in prayerful humility and with all possible watchfulness.

The Assam tragedy has enabled Mr. Andrews to draw up a terrible indictment against the Indian Government. The callous indifference, in the name of impartiality, shown to the immediate wants of the labourers, even assuming that they were in the wrong, the charge of the Gurkhas and the hackneyed defence of the necessity of using force against a perfectly helpless people, mark out the Government as barbarous and utterly unworthy of respect. Why were the Gurkhas let loose upon the coolies? Everyone knows that the army contains some men simply trained to be brutal and inhuman. When the soldiery is sent in the midst of an unarmed civil population, people know what that means. Everyone knows that the recruits for the army contain some of the worst specimens of humanity. They may be good for war, but to employ them for dealing with coolies on strike is to side with the rich and the powerful. In every vital matter the Reforms are hopelessly breaking down. There is no doubt that the next few months will witness either a transformation in the system of Government so that the meanest will count as much as the loftiest,

or a conflict with it such as the world has never seen before. The refusal to take the rice offered in name of the Government was a refusal to live by the hand that humbled. And when that spirit of quiet courage and resignation pervades India, the fate of the Government is sealed. We need to learn, not the art of doing violence but that of suffering violence, of dying. Success by methods of violence will replace one monster of Government by another, and the poor and the innocent will certainly continue to be ground down just as they are today.

Mr. Andrews deplored the sympathetic strike of the steamship employees. Whosoever instigated it did an ill service to the labourers. In India we want no political strikes. We are not yet instructed enough for them. Not to have political strikes is to forward the cause of freedom. We do not need an atmosphere of unsettled unrest. It hampers our progress towards the final stages of our programme. A soldier who runs amok is unfit to be in an army. We must gain control over all the unruly and disturbing elements, or isolate them even as we are isolating the Government. The only way, therefore, we can help strikers is to give them help and relief when they have struck for their own *bona-fide* grievances. We must sedulously prevent all other strikes. We seek not to destroy capital or capitalists, but to regulate the relations between capital and labour. We want to harness capital to our side. It would be folly to encourage sympathetic strikes.

Mr. Andrews has appealed for funds to repatriate our poor countrymen to their hamlets. The appeal tests our capacity for feeling for the hungry and the naked, i.e., for swaraj. I hope Calcutta has already over-subscribed the appeal of that Friend of the Poor[1].

Young India, 15-6-1921

105. MAGISTERIAL HIGH-HANDEDNESS

The District Magistrate of Lahore has been prohibiting a meeting of the Lahore City Congress Committee. Under the Seditious Meetings Act, public meetings are understood to be meetings to which a member of the public can demand entrance on compliance with the rules of admission. All other meetings are private. The Lahore Committee meeting was advertised to be only for members of the Committee. But the Magistrate was

[1] *Deenabandhu*, the epithet used for Andrews

not satisfied. He asked the Secretary to wait on him and give him satisfaction. Lala Amirchand naturally declined to dance attendance on the Magistrate, and politely informed him that the meeting was private and had a definite object. The Magistrate nevertheless prohibited the meeting. The Secretary protested that the order was illegal, but informed the Magistrate that he would for the time being obey the order. It is quite evident that the officials are challenging and provoking non-co-operators to offer civil disobedience. A few more such orders, and I promise that the challenge will be heartily taken up. Hitherto, we have obeyed such orders out of our weakness. Now we are obeying out of strength which is daily growing. All over the country, wherever such orders are given, the desire is keen for civil disobedience. It is the exemplary self-restraint and self-imposed discipline which are keeping those who receive such orders from civilly disobeying them. The country will gain for having undergone still more discipline and exercised still more self-restraint. We shall need much more of both these qualities, before we can regard ourselves as fit for the privileged exercise of civil disobedience. Disobedience to be civil excludes all bluster, all violence. It excludes lawlessness. A civil resister *courts* imprisonment. It is, therefore, wrong to demonstrate against his arrest. There must be real rejoicing, as there is when one has one's heart's desire fulfilled. There could be civil disobedience tomorrow, if we could ensure its restriction strictly to approved laws and orders, if we could be sure that the people would not resort to violence on the arrest of prominent leaders. Civility is to disobedience what non-violence is to non-co-operation. Disobedience is the acutest form of non-co-operation—more so than non-payment of taxes. A civil resister becomes law unto himself. Courage and discrimination of a high order are needed for the practice of the virtue of civil disobedience. It is a total denial of the authority of the State, and is permissible only when the State has proved itself corrupt beyond redemption. I may be stupid, but I see not only no sign of repentance about this Government of ours, but I notice a determination on its part to provoke people to violence, and, then, to justify a repetition of Dyerism. The refusal to right the Punjab wrong in the only way possible means that on the people going mad as in Amritsar, their sins will be visited upon the innocent and the guilty alike, and that, in the words of one of the Amritsar officers, the future generations must be made to pay for the sins of the present.

A forced imposition of the British yoke is intolerable and humiliating. A nation awakened to a sense of its self-respect will and

must go through the fire of suffering, and bear all the hardships that may be entailed in throwing off the yoke. The English can remain in India only as friends and equals, and if they serve, they must become real servants, scrupulously carrying out the wishes of their employers. There can be no exploitation of Indian labour, and no concessions to British capitalists. They must compete with the meanest of us on equal terms. Their organizing talent, their industry, their resourcefulness must command a market which none can dispute. But the menace of their rifle and their whip must cease for ever. The refusal to redress the Punjab wrong, the refusal to placate Mussulman opinion means that the menace is not to cease. On our part, there must be no compromise with that attitude. Weak or strong, we must fight it to the bitter end, cost what it may. As soon, therefore, as we have secured a reasonably safe atmosphere for the working of civil disobedience, we must launch out into it. *Meanwhile*, let us submit even to the preposterous orders such as the Lahore District Magistrate's. The power of rightful disobedience will come tomorrow, from willing obedience today.

Young India, 15-6-1921

106. MR. PAL AGAIN

Mr. Pal's[1] letter to the *Englishman* reproduced in the Press requires a full reply. Mr. Pal has evidently been misinformed about many things, and has therefore been tempted to make suggestions, which he would not have, if he had been better informed.

The Government communique, the Viceroy's speech and press reporters' imaginative descriptions of the Simla visit are responsible for the grave misapprehension that has taken place about the visit and the Ali Brothers.

When I went to Simla, I had no notion that I would wait on His Excellency. I knew that both Pandit Malaviyaji and Mr. Andrews were anxious that I should meet Lord Reading. But I went to Simla only to meet Pandit Malaviyaji, who was too weak to overtake me in my journeyings. It was after hearing Panditji that I decided to write to the Secretary to the Viceroy,[2] that if His Excellency wished to hear my views about the struggle, I would gladly wait on him. I waited on him, not for the sake of securing a

[1] The reference is to Bipin Chandra Pal; *vide* "Notes", 1-6-1921.

[2] The letter is not available.

reversal of the decision to arrest the Ali Brothers, but to tell the Viceroy why I had become a non-co-operator. The first and the longest interview did not turn upon the then impending prosecution of the Brothers at all. The question of the Ali Brothers came up quite in the natural course, and arose out of our discussion of non-violence and how far it was carried out in practice. When His Excellency showed me some of the extracts from the speeches, I recognized that they were capable of bearing the interpretation sought to be put upon them. I therefore told His Excellency that as soon as I met them, I would advise the Brothers to make a clearing statement, irrespective of what the Government may do regarding their prosecution. The statement was not conditional upon a revision of the Government's decision. That the Government revised the decision on the strength of the statement was a wise and natural act on their part. I admit that it has given me relief. But I do not believe with Mr. Pal that the arrest of the Brothers would necessarily have led to bloodshed. The Brothers, like me, continue wilfully to break the law of sedition, and, therefore court arrest. Sooner or later, and that during this year if we can carry the country with us, we must bring about a situation when the Government must arrest us or grant the people's demands. The Brothers' statement avoids arrest on a false issue, an issue that cannot be defended.

Whilst, therefore, I was anxious to avoid the prosecution of the Brothers on the ground of incitement to violence, I would welcome a prosecution of them and myself for promoting disaffection towards the Government established by law. We all felt that, having known what was taking place, not to make the statement would be to wrong the cause, and to play into the hands of the enemy.

Mr. Pal is right in thinking that I expect a settlement by discussion and compromise in matters not of vital interest. But I did not discuss the terms of settlement with the Viceroy. It is for the accredited representatives of the people to do so. There is no fear, I assure Mr. Pal, of my arriving at any settlement over the heads of the people. Nor will there be any confidence when, if ever, the terms of a settlement are discussed. Confidence there must be, when two strangers meet for a friendly intercourse and wish to know each other. We only met to know each other. I wish, however, at once to ease the mind of the reader by telling him, that as an outcome of the interview he need not expect any settlement at an early date, if only because the people have not yet sufficiently prepared themselves for it; and the Viceroy appears to

me to be anxious to reconcile the irreconcilable. He cannot pour new wines into old bottles. He cannot keep the Khilafat and the Punjab sores open, and still make India happy and contented.

Mr. Pal is quite right when he says that, if the Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs are redressed, I should leave it to the other leaders to carry on the agitation about swaraj, for the simple reason that when India has made her power sufficiently felt in connection with the two great questions, she can have swaraj for the asking. Swaraj is not for me something apart from the people's power to right every wrong, to prevent O'Dwyerism and Lloyd Georgism. The cult of Sir Michael O'Dwyer stands for terrorism, and that of Mr. Lloyd George for treachery. When we have dealt with these two demons, I suggest to Mr. Pal that we are ready to govern ourselves. If my followers in Bengal do not resent my interview with the Viceroy, they know that for me there is no settlement without a settlement of the two wrongs, they know that time for discussing swaraj schemes will come only after the two obstacles to any scheme of settlement are removed. Without their removal, there is nothing for India save complete independence. The Bengalis who attended the Barisal conference resented Mr. Pal's discussion because, as I apprehend, they considered it to be premature and calculated to interfere with the evolution of the proper swaraj spirit. Mr. Pal's performance was like that of a mason trying to tackle the topmost storey before the foundation was solidly laid. I would humbly urge Mr. Pal not to land the country in an untimely discussion of swaraj schemes, and ask him to accept my assurance, that so far as I am concerned, I would not do a single thing about any swaraj scheme without an open consultation with the representatives of the people. There is no question of consultation about the Khilafat and the Punjab, because the minimum terms are fairly well understood.

Young India, 15-6-1921

107. SPEECH AT GHATKOPAR[1]

June 15, 1920

Mahatma Gandhi, after thanking the residents of Ghatkopar for their address, accepted the forty thousand rupees which they had collected for the Tilak Swaraj Fund. He accepted these rupees only on certain condition. If the sum they had collected represented the best efforts of the large merchants who were trading in Bombay, but were staying at Ghatkopar then he would at once say that they would never get swaraj this year. He would have been satisfied if they had made the slightest sacrifice, but they had not done that. He was again going to beg of his brothers and sisters to contribute their mite towards that Fund. He was disappointed at the smallness of the amount they had collected, after they had admitted that Ghatkopar was a place where the rich Indian merchants of Bombay were residing. It was not himself alone who was collecting money for the Fund. There were the Ali Brothers on the platform, who, it was stated, managed to lead the speaker by his nose. That was not the fact. The Ali Brothers loved their religion and he loved his own and they were not going to give up their religion. Each had his own dharma and each had to follow it implicitly, come what might. Then there was the great Hakim Ajmal Khan. He was not an ordinary man to come to Ghatkopar casually; his fees were high and he charged one thousand rupees a day for such visits. He was not a doctor versed in the Western methods of medicine; he had a few secret medicines which were very efficacious. Then there was Dr. Ansari who was well-versed in the Western system of medicine—he had gained a diploma to kill people (Laughter.) for if a doctor killed a man they could not take any action against him. (Laughter.) Then there was the great Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who was a great authority on Islamic religion and law. Why had all these great people come to Ghatkopar? Not for the purpose of making speeches to them! For that was not the time for making speeches, but for work, solid work for the country.

[1] Gandhiji was accorded a reception by the citizens of Ghatkopar, a suburban town of Bombay. Among those present were: V. J. Patel, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Sarojini Naidu, Dr. M. A. Ansari, Dr. B. S. Munje, N. C. Kelkar, the Ali Brothers, Maulana Abdul Bari, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Jamnalal Bajaj and Shankarlal Banker, who had assembled in Bombay for the All-India Congress Committee meeting. Gandhiji addressed the gathering after Shaukat Ali had spoken. A similar report of Gandhiji's speech appeared in *The Hindu*, 20-6-1920.

The residents of Ghatkopar had given him personally Rs. 40,000 but what were they going to give to their other guests like the Hakim and Dr. Ansari? They had also to give something to other workers like Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, Mr. Shankarlal and others who had assembled there. They had not fully realized that this was the time when the prestige of this country would be assessed at its true worth. It was impossible that the people of this country could neglect to keep up the prestige of their country at such a critical time. They had not even got Rs. 40 lakhs so far. They had collected only Rs. 20 lakhs. It would be the duty of this city of Bombay to give the balance of Rs. 60 lakhs and he had not the least doubt about their ability to do so. He had every confidence that the city of Bombay would give the Congress that sum. He had put his trust in the four great communities in this city, namely, *Bhatias*, *Memons*, Marwaris and Parsis. He did not know what the Parsis would give him, and how much he could expect of them. Two of them had between them given him a sum of Rs. 1,52,000—Mr. Bomanji and Mr. Rustomji Ghorkhodu. His confidence, therefore, now rested in the two great communities—Marwari and *Bhatia*—whom he saw at every meeting. If they agreed that swaraj was their birthright, then it was their bounden duty to try their best to get possession of it. In that connection he would tell them that until they solved the question of Khilafat to their entire satisfaction, they would never be able, satisfactorily to settle the problem of cow-protection.

When the address was presented to him it was stated in it that at Ghatkopar resided the great merchants of Bombay. If those great merchants had willed it, they could have sent him away from the meeting with promises that they would get him at least Rs. 40 lakhs, if not more. They should have been so determined in the aims they kept before themselves that they should have welcomed any sort of sacrifice, rather than not answering the call of their Motherland at such a critical time in her destiny. The present is the time for collecting large sums and not for more talk. He had great confidence that even if the other communities in the city did not fulfil their duty the two great communities—*Bhatias* and Marwaris—would make up the required amount with the determination that they would never remain slaves of the British Government. It was for that they had to sacrifice their wealth so generously. In the next few months they had to establish swaraj and for that purpose they had to make great sacrifices. They had to make sacrifices of their rich foreign luxuries and clothes. Atia Begum had come to him for the purpose of holding a women's meeting in this city; there was, however, a lady with her who was clothed in the luxurious clothes of the West. He, therefore, told her that if the women of Bombay would only wear khaddar he would be their willing slave. The present was not the time for wearing rich ornaments or rich clothes; they had to give up all those luxuries. They had to consecrate themselves to the charkha and they must wear only khaddar. Unless they did

that, what was the use of going to a ladies' meeting? Did they know that crores of their countrymen and countrywomen were starving for want of food, going about semi-naked for want of clothes? How could they then have the heart for all the foreign luxuries which they now affected so much? How could they live a life of luxury when so many of their countrymen were suffering? It was the sacred duty of every woman to wear khaddar.

The people who had called him to Ghatkopar should first of all understand their dharma properly. It was not possible for him to give the people swaraj, not even the Ali Brothers would be able to give them that. It was for the people themselves to take it, it was for the people themselves to win it. If they were afraid of every Kabuli and every Britisher that came to them, how was it possible for them to attain swaraj? He for once could not understand why Indians should at all be afraid of Kabulis or Europeans. They were the brothers of Indians. Indians were quite capable of protecting themselves; they were also able to non-co-operate with them, if necessary. Why, again, should the Hindus be afraid of Mohammedans, and why should the Mohammedans be afraid of the Hindus? If they were a godfearing people and if they stood together united, what was there to be afraid of each other? Unless they had the necessary spirit, ability and energy, Indians would never be able to get and keep swaraj. They should not confuse swaraj with parliaments or assemblies. So long as Indians could not protect their rights they would never be able to get them.

He was afraid that many Hindus had given up their dharma. He was brought up in a *Vaishnava* household and ahimsa (non-killing) was in his blood. Mercy and non-killing was in him and he would never be able to give up these things. In this connection he had received several threatening letters from *Vaishnavas* because of his connection with the depressed classes. Because he had allied himself with the *Antyajas* they had written to him that dvre things would happen to him within a month or so. To them he would say frankly that if *Vaishnavas* did not want to have anything to do with the untouchables, then they were not the real *Vaishnavas* but only a godless and sinful people. That was not the ideal of a true *Vaishnava*. People who did not want to uplift the untouchables could only be called a godless people. *Vaishnava* religion did not teach them to kill anything or injure anybody; it was full of sympathy and love for other people. The same thing could be said of *Shravakas*. These people were quite willing to feed the dumb animals, but not their fellow creatures who through their misfortunes were starving. These *Shravakas* had the tenderest feeling for the animals but not for human beings. Did they call it religion? If *Vaishnavism* taught them to despise their fellow-creatures, then he for one could not call it a religion but a monstrous perversion of religion. He feelingly appealed to the *Vaishnavas* to give up such hatred for the untouchables. He was not going to tell them to take [food] from the hands of *Dheds* or sweepers. They had to realize that the essence of *Varnashrama* dharma was fellow-feeling for the poor

and the down-trodden and the depressed people. Their holy *Bhagavat* had told them what their true religion should be. It was not "touch-me-notism". It was essential that they should have love and feeling for the poor, and unless they had those qualities in plenty they could not call themselves true *Vaishnavas* For what was religion without love for the oppressed and the depressed? It was only a godless and perverted religion.

Coming to the charkhas Mahatma Gandhi said, through the charkha the whole of India had become vibrant with a new life and it was also a means of righting their Khilafat wrongs. He was not asking them to take food from the hands of the untouchables. Let them leave aside that point and let the people of Ghatkopar take up the other roads leading to swaraj. Charkha was the potent instrument which would right the Khilafat wrongs and the wrongs of the Punjab and would give them swaraj at the same time. He appealed to the residents of Ghatkopar to concentrate their attention on the Congress programme, which they all knew, and he prayed to God that He would vouchsafe to them enough strength to do their duty to their country and reach the goal of swaraj by the right path. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Gandhi then asked the audience, consisting of both women and men, to contribute their mite towards the Tilak Fund and pay it to the volunteers. At the same time he wanted the contributions to be made with *shraddha*[1]. He did not want them to give anything to their country unwillingly. Those *Shravakas* and *Vaishnavas* who had given any money to the Fund were quite at liberty to take it back, for he did not want such unwillingly-paid contributions. He only wanted money to be given with *shraddha*. Those who wanted to take back their money were at liberty to do so.

The Bombay Chronicle, 16-6-1920

108. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

BOMBAY,
Thursday, [*June 16, 1921*][2]

CHI. MANI[3],

I have your letter. I had told uncle Vithalbhai[4], even before I got your letter, that we must meet. He is going to Poona.

[1] Literally, reverence; here devotion

[2] This is inferred from the reference to the presentation of the purse at Ghatkopar on June 15.

[3] Daughter of Vallabhbhai Patel

[4] Vithalbhai J. Patel (1873-1933); elder brother of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and a fearless and astute constitutional fighter; member of the Bombay Legislative Council and later of the Imperial Legislative Council; the first elected President of the Central Legislative Assembly, Delhi

We shall certainly meet. I will write to you afterwards about what happens. Let me know what you thought to be the corrupt things going on in Bombay. Do not feel troubled. I propose to have a full and frank talk with uncle.

You two, brother[1] and sister, should absorb yourselves completely in national work; this means that you should be experts in spinning and carding, so much so that no one can excel you. Trust me, all our other activities are for the time being, this is to be kept up permanently. We shall get all our strength from this.

Bhai Mahadev arrived in Bombay yesterday. He has, it must be said, collected a large amount.

We are having good rains here. Yesterday, we got about Rs. 55,000 in Ghatkopar.

Whether I write or not, you should continue to do so.

Blessings from
BAPU

Manibehn
C/o Shri Vallabhbhai Patel
Bhadra, Ahmedabad

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—Manibehn Patelne

109. TELEGRAM TO C. R. DAS

[SABARMATI]
[On or after *June 17, 1921*][2]

SENDING WIRE MOTILALJI

From a photostat: S.N. 7573

[1] Dahyabhai Patel

[2] This was sent in reply to a telegram from C. R. Das of June 17, 1921, which read: "Impossible electing delegates All-India Congress Committee from Bengal before fifteenth July because of cooly situation East Bengal arranging accordingly as member of Working Committee if further sanction necessary regarding articles nineteenth Congress Constitution. Kindly obtain it by correspondence or otherwise Swaraj Fund about three lacs wiring Calcutta for accurate figures. Wire Maduripur. Kindly inform Motilal Nehru." There were strikes of railway and steamship labour and much unrest East Bengal and Gandhiji visited the region at the request of C. F. Adnrews.

110. SPEECH ON NON-CO-OPERATION, BOMBAY[1]

June 18, 1921

Mahatma Gandhi said there had always been a great friendliness between the Parsi and the Hindu communities. The Parsis had also shown their love and friendship to the country of their adoption. Personally, he had been connected with the Parsis since he was a boy, and all his life he was in close touch with them and he admired their qualities. He would tell them at once that he had not come there for the purpose of flattering the community; he was only telling them what he felt to be the truth in his heart of hearts. He would not be backward in criticizing their faults if necessary. He had the greatest love and respect for the Parsis, with whom he had come in contact throughout all his activities. There was no community in the world which, with such small numbers, had been able to achieve so much both by their charity and their religion. There was not much difference between the Hindu and Parsi religions, for both placed Truth in the first and the highest place. He quite admitted that so long as their conscience did not ask them to take part in the struggle that was going on at present they were right if they kept themselves aloof, and he would be quite satisfied even if a few Parsis joined his movement with their minds quite made up and convinced of the rightness of their cause. He, therefore, appealed to the Parsis to consider the whole situation properly and make up their minds and join the movement. There was as much want of faith among the Parsis as among the Hindus and Muslims, and his prayer to them was that they should consider the 'pros' and 'cons' of the situation and then take part in the struggle. When he had a quarrel with the Political Agent in Kathiawad and he wanted to take steps against him it was a Parsi, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, who told him that it was useless to expect justice in such a case.[2] That was the first lesson he had learnt from a Parsi and since then he had suffered such indignities in his life that he did not think it would serve any useful purpose to give an account of them to the meeting.

The non-co-operation movement was a spiritual movement; it was a spiritual phase in their lives. In all religions they were taught that they should run away from evil, that they should keep themselves apart from it. He was willing to get on with Dyer, but not Dyerism. He quite admitted that many Indians and Parsis had benefited by the British rule and they had become

[1] Gandhiji addressed the Council of the Parsi Central Association on Saturday afternoon. Hormasji Adenwalla presided.

[2] Gandhiji had sought the Agent's intercession in a matter concerning his brother, Lakshmidas and had been ejected from the Agent's room; *vide An Autobiography*, Part II, Ch. IV.

millionaires and were enjoying all sorts of luxuries, but it was not beneficial to the community in general. The British connection had not been at all beneficial to the masses and the best proof of that was to be found in the writings[1] of Dadabhai Naoroji and in Gokhale's testimony. During the discussion on the Manipur affair it was Sir John Gorst who said that it was the policy of the British Government to cut off all the tall poppies under it. Unfortunately for him, his eyes had not been opened until this time. His contention was this: that by the British rule, while some might have benefited, the great masses and the large majority of the people had not benefited in the least, considered from any point of view—whether it was economic or moral or physical point of view. India was never in a worse condition than it was today. Hindus and Parsis and *Memons* had been telling him privately that they were quite willing to help his movement in private but not in public, because they had vested interests, and that they were engaged in trade and other things.

He had not the least hesitation in admitting that there was repression and oppression under the Moguls, but Indians had never fallen so low as they had in these times. He for one did not agree that their political condition had improved very much since the enlargement of their councils, etc. He did not agree that India had got any rights at all by the Reforms and, if he could be convinced to the contrary, he was quite willing to withdraw the letter he had written to the Moderates. If the Reforms were real and potent, then the British Government should not be able to do anything illegal to the people, but that was not the case. Only the other day he had received a letter from a gentleman that he was charged with setting fire to the Police Lines and that he was quite innocent of all those things. There were many other things of a similar kind which were taking place in this land now. There never was a more Moderate man in the Punjab than Lala Harkishen Lal who kept himself aloof from all political movements, but he was arrested during the Martial Law regime and sentenced[2]; the same was the case with Lala Dunichand and others. Even now there was no more repression in the whole of India than in the province of Bihar where Lord Sinha was the Governor. Lord Sinha was not the man who would tolerate such things, but he was unable to control his civilian subordinates because he was an Indian and they were English. He was unable to take them to task as Sir Edward Gait[3] would have done, if he had been in Lord Sinha's place. He was sure that even if Lord Sinha tried to curb his subordinates, he would never be successful in his object. There were great leaders in that province like Muzur-ul-Huq and others. Mr. Andrews was not the sort of man to write false things about the Gurkha oppression, but they

[1] Among these is *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India.*

[2] *Vide* Vol. XV, pp. 472-6.

[3] Lt.-Governor of Bihar and Orissa during the period of satyagraha in Champaran in 1917

knew fully what they had done to the coolies at Chandpur. Government had, however, informed the public that only the necessary amount of force had been used by the soldiers and no more and no less. The same things were said by General Dyer. Mr. Gandhi said that he was telling them what his conscience told him was the right thing and nothing else. When the Ali Brothers made a mistake, he drew their attention to it and they at once put themselves in the correct light.

Coming to the success of the non-co-operation movement, Mr. Gandhi said it had succeeded far beyond the expectations of the people. It had driven out of the minds of the people all fear of the authorities, of suffering, of sacrifice and work for the sake of their country. People were willing to do anything for their country. Although the Parsis were a small community, they had produced a Dadabhai and a Mehta and they had rendered the greatest service to this country. Parsis were able to render valuable services to India by their faith, by their generosity and by their sacrifice. Mehta was called the Lion of Bombay and he hoped that the Parsis would work in such a manner that they would be called the Lions of India. They were a generous people; they had brains and they had money; they had great merchants and they were capable of much self-sacrifice for the sake of their country. If they could work for India by making the necessary sacrifice, they could easily make themselves the leaders of India. He for one expected great things from the Parsis.

In reply to questions from Mr. H. P. Modi, the Mahatma said they had only three months to work by which time they were to get swaraj. He was both sure of getting swaraj and he was not. He was not sure because they had not yet fulfilled the Bezwada programme which was placed before the country. But he had great faith in God and he was sure that India would get swaraj. Non-co-operation was a movement for changing the entire mentality of the people. The public had not, unfortunately, yet fulfilled the Bezwada programme and, therefore, he was sometimes assailed by doubts about getting swaraj in the month of September[1].

Coming to the question of the utility of the charkha, Mr. Gandhi said he believed in it a very great deal and thought it was capable of doing great things for this country. After the food problem was that of clothing the masses. They were not able to clothe them now except with the help of Japan, England and other countries. What he wanted was that India should be capable of clothing her people without the least help from foreign countries. Even if the mills did not export an ounce of yarn or a yard of cloth, they would not be able to clothe the masses. There were about three crores of people who were neither properly fed nor clothed. He said that from his personal experience in this country, and he was only telling them what he had personally seen in

[1] In September 1920 Gandhiji had hoped to win swaraj within a year; *vide* Vol. XVIII, pp. 270-3.

Orissa and other provinces, people went about half-naked in those places and they were starving. Rich men would tell him that they shoud start *sadavrats* (places for giving food to poor people), but he would tell them that he was not a believer in those institutions. He wanted every man to be independent, dependent on his personal labour only. He who had worked as a *Bhangi* (sweeper) knew something about these things and also about what a small addition to wages meant. Amritlal Thakkar had written a very interesting article in the *Servant of India* on the value of spinning to poor people in Kathiawad.

He had introduced the charkha among the *Dheds* of Kathiawad and it was capable of doing immense good to the people. The peculiar climate of India required only the beautiful khaddar for their use, and he implored them to bring it into universal use. When Indians came to use the charkha all over the land, then they would be entirely independent, fearless and self-supporting. The poverty of Indians compelled a large number of women to do such work as breaking stones and he knew from his experience how the poor women lost their chastity and modesty. But the use of the charkha would enable them to remain at home and earn their living. Therefore he said that there were both independence and chastity in the charkha.

According to the Government statistics the average income of an Indian was Rs. 2-4-0 per month, and they must deduct from this the income of the millionaire; in that case the income of a man would be about Rs. 2 per month, and how was it possible for an average man to support himself on such an income? Therefore, any small addition to the wages or income of a family was welcome and relieved the distress.

Coming to the question of education, Mr. Gandhi said it was well-nigh impossible to have compulsory education in India owing to its enormous cost, but by the use of the charkha it would be possible for the people to have their children educated. The charkha would thus be the means of their economic regeneration, wealth and independence. In fact their salvation lay in the use of the charkha. Coming to the question of the crore of rupees, he admitted that he had not yet been successful in collecting the crore of rupees, but he hoped to do so. Reverting again to the question of hand-made things, Mr. Gandhi said, even in England, where machinery was so universally used, hand-made things were considered to be the best and superior to machine-made articles. In Navsari, the Parsis thought the same thing and Indians should think highly of their hand-made things also. Even in England, they liked to use home-made articles, because they considered them to be the best, and he did not know why Indians should not think in that way. The Parsis had not given him much money, but neither had the *Memons*. His friend Parsi Rustomji had given him large sums and he had so much confidence in the speaker that Mr. Rustomji would give him all his property if he but expressed such a wish. The meeting could rest content that the monies collected would be administered

in the best and most honest way, for they could not find better men than Messrs Motilal Nehru, Jamnalal Bajaj, Shankarlal Banker, Omar Sobhani and Chhotani for such a purpose.

> One Parsi gentleman said he wanted to know why they should confine their energies to making khaddar only and not in making other things like silk and other useful articles. In Japan, where he had been, the cottagers did small articles in homes and made a profitable living thereby. They also made the finest silk on handlooms. He asked whether it was not possible to get their people to do that with the help of societies and committees established in every town, who should meet the losses and thus encourage rising industries.

Mr. Gandhi said Japan was a small island whereas India was a vast continent. They had to deal with a population of 30 crores of people in India and, therefore, they could only make the commonest articles which were universally used in this country. Indians were accustomed to spinning and they could very easily make khaddar in their homes. He did not advocate that they should use khaddar for ever and ever. He was hopeful of making the mulls, for which Dacca was famous, and fine silks. At the present time, the unfortunate thing was that they had to import all fine yarn for making finer kinds of cloth. It was only a question of time when they would be able to manufacture finer counts of yarn and until then they had to be content with khaddar.

> Messrs Vimadalal and Dumasia asked Mr. Gandhi what sort of swaraj he wanted and whether their present rulers would have a place in it.

Mr. Gandhi said he wanted the army, police, law and revenue to be fully controlled by the people and they should be in a position to spend their own money. At the present time, they were not able to appoint their Commander-in-Chief, neither were they able to stop the sending of a single sepoy out of India. He was not, however, going to discuss such things as votes, etc. If they were able to control these things now, Indians would be able to move forward gradually. If they could manufacture all requirements of cloth, India would be a self-dependent country, but now they were dependent on other people. So long as they had to thank the Government for every small thing they got from it, they would not be able to achieve much. They should achieve such a position that they would be able to do things without the help of other people. He thought the non-co-operation movement had effected a great change in the mentality of the people, for instance, in Malabar the *Moplahs* who were a spirited people had now become disciplined under its influence.

In reply to another question, Mr. Gandhi said he would be content with Dominion Self-Government. The Viceroy was of the opinion that they should get it gradually, while he was of the opinion that they should get it at once. To those who said that they were not fit to rule themselves yet, he would say that it was because they were kept apart from their legitimate rights; he did not

admit that Indians were incapable of ruling themselves. He did not care whether their ministers were Indians or Englishmen. What he wanted was the power of appointment and dismissal at any time he liked. He did not want to dismiss a man simply because of his colour, but for his incompetence. Ministers should have power over the Commissioners and Collectors. He never admitted that Indians were incapable of administering the military department.

One gentleman said they were talking of Hindu-Mohammedan unity but he did not know where the Parsis came in there. Hindus and Muslims would appoint their own men and Parsis would be nowhere.

Mr. N. M. Dumasia said Sri Krishna Gupta had told them that so long as they were not able to defend themselves it was no use getting swaraj. They ought to be able to defend themselves against a foreign government in the first instance.

Mr. H. P. Modi said they had been working as clerks for so many years and they were not used to do military work and deal with their foreign relations. They had been carrying out things under British control and therefore Indians were not accustomed to do them independently.

Mr. Gandhi said his opinion was that Englishmen were not yet prepared to leave India and he wanted them to remain not on their own terms but on those of Indians. Englishmen would feel ashamed to leave India just now. Another thing was he did not believe that if they got swaraj the next day, they would have to fight all the foreign governments all at once. But even if they had to fight a foreign government, Indians then would go on fighting until victory was theirs. He wanted them to realize that Indians could only get their objectives by means of their own strength, and not with the help of others or by means of tactics or stratagems. They could only keep their rights by their ability to defend them and not by means of parliaments or assemblies.

Mr. Dumasia said it was the rule that a smaller nation should be beaten by a bigger nation. Nothing of great importance had taken place in this world without a war or a battle. It would take many years to get the proper spirit in the nation and years in the life of a nation were like as many moments. Therefore, they had been asked to hasten slowly. Parsis hated both Dyerism and O'Dwyerism, as much as anybody. The Parsi community were always loyal to their rulers, whether they were Hindus or English. They were not prepared to ask the English to go out of this country bag and baggage, and they did not want to get out of the Empire, over which King George ruled. Any movement which did not exclude these things would have their fullest support. They were fully with Mr. Gandhi if he was willing to go forward constitutionally, but not otherwise. They were willing to sacrifice and do everything for their King and their country.

In reply to further questions Mahatma Gandhi said his movement was a great bulwark against Bolshevism. Indians did not want chaos and terror in this land. The minds of the people had been very much purified by this non-co-operation movement, for instance in Sind, Hyderabad and Kaira, people had very much improved morally. The movement had done away with hatred; if hatred of other communities were on the increase he would have kept himself aloof from the non-co-operation movement.

> Dr. N. M. Sukhia said from his experience he had found that the Parsi community had been put down by both the Hindus and Muslims in the mofussil. He had seen in Malegaon, in 1886, the same thing. The Parsis would join the movement if they found it to be beneficial to them, otherwise they would keep themselves aloof from it.

Mr. Gandhi said the British had come to India only some 150 years ago and before that the Parsis were living with Mohammedans and Hindus and they should be able to judge for themselves whether they were better or worse off. They were talking of Hindu-Muslim unity because there was no such unity before and in that unity the unity of all other smaller communities was also included, for instance, the Jews, Christians, Parsis, etc. It did not mean that the other communities were to be excluded from their friendship and that the Hindus and Muslims alone were to be friends. The Parsis were ruling the Congress for so many years and they had occupied very many important positions in it. The Congress was looking after the rights of all the communities equally and he did not think that, in the future, the Parsis would be crushed between the two great communities—Hindus and Muslims. If the Parsis thought that they would not benefit by joining the non-co-operation movement, it was open to them to keep themselves aloof from it. He asked them to join hands with them only if they came to the conclusion that it would be to their good, otherwise not.

The Bombay Chronicle, 19-6-1921

111. LETTER TO C. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR

[On or after *June 18, 1921*]

DEAR MR. ACHARIAR,

I have your telegram.[1] The Committee has informed the Punjab friends that they should continue to obey orders till the All-India Congress Committee has decided upon the matter. The A.I.C.C. meets at Lucknow on the 22nd July in the morning. The question of formulating a scheme may be considered then. In my opinion the time has not arrived for it as yet.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 7548

112. SPEECH ON SWARAJ, BOMBAY[2]

June 19, 1921

Mr. Gandhi said the people had been sitting in the *mandap* for more than an hour. He was thankful to them for erecting the *pandal,* in the erection of which the rich and poor of the place had taken a hand and in this he saw the sure foundation of swaraj. He was grateful to them for all they had done in welcoming him. He was highly pleased that, in the collection of the funds, all classes and communities had taken part—Hindus and Muslims and Parsis. Therein lay the secret of swaraj. He, however, appealed to his sisters and brothers to give him all they had to give to the Fund. India was working for a *Dharmarajya* and a *Nitirajya*[3], and Indians were going to follow the right path, the straight path and the honest path. He was extremely sorry he was so very late in coming to the meeting, but the fact was that his motor broke down on the road and he had to collect Rs. 60,000 from Mr. Velji Lakhamsee Napoo on account of Mandvi Ward. He hoped the people of Ville Parle would contribute a like amount for the Tilak Fund.

Mahatma Gandhi then referred to the meeting of Parsis and the questions he had been asked there. He said he would explain several points more

[1] Vijayaraghavachariar had wired on June 18 from Kodaikanal: "Hope Working Committee sends Punjab considered instruction respecting acute present crisis. Malaviyaji desires practicable scheme placed before Viceroy immediately."

[2] Delivered at a public meeting at Ville Parle, a suburb in northern Bombay, at which Gandhiji was presented with a purse for the Tilak Swaraj Fund

[3] Rule of righteousness and morality

fully this time. He was told that there was unity between the 23 crores of Hindus and 7 crores of Muslims and that between them the 80,000 Parsis would suffer. It was the duty of the communities who were in a majority to safeguard the interests of the minorities and look after them, and that was the first principle of swaraj which they had to keep in view. The majorities should not neglect the interest of the minorities. Then one *Bohra* gentleman had written to him that he (Mr. Gandhi) was only naming the *Memons* and not the *Bohras* and he had been asked whether he suspected the *Bohras*. To that he would say that he had not meant that at all. He had used the word *Memon* for the whole of the Mohammedan community and not for any particular sect. He would mention in that regard that a *Bohra* gentleman had taken him to his house and presented him with a sum of Rs. 1,000 for the Fund. He, however, deprecated all such doubts and suspicions towards each other, and so long as they entertained any such feelings towards their sister communities, swaraj would never be attained by them.

He had been asked at the previous day's meeting whether they should not wear mill-made cloth. To that question his answer was that mill-made cloth was for the poorest and the rich and well-to-do people should wear khaddar. If they could not do that, they could not get swaraj. Another Parsi gentleman had asked him as to what he would do in case they were attacked by Japan and other nations. His answer was that man was a selfish creature and, if the Japanese found that they could not send their goods to the Indians, and that they did not use them at all, India would not be of any use to them. If Indians did not care to use foreign made things what use would India be to the Japanese?

He then introduced Maulana Abul Kalam Azad as a great man among the Mohammedans and as one who wielded much influence among them. He was capable of doing immense good to the two communities and he hoped they would listen to him after the collections were made.

The Bombay Chronicle, 20-6-1921

113. TELEGRAM TO JITENDRALAL BANERJEE[1]

[On or after *June 19, 1921*]

ENGAGED FULFILLING BEZWADA PROGRAMME. IMPOSSIBLE ADVISE FROM DISTANCE. WRITING.[2]

From a photostat: S.N. 7547

114. STATEMENT TO PRESS REPRESENTATIVE

Asked by a press representative if he would be appearing before the Military Requirements Committee as a witness in response to the invitation extended to him, Mr. Gandhi stated that he had already written to the Committee, intimating his inability to appear before it, as being a non-co-operator he could not participate in its proceedings.

The Bombay Chronicle, 20-6-1921

115. LETTER TO KUNVARJI ANANDJI

BOMBAY,
June 21, 1921

BHAISHIRI KUNVARJI ANANDJI,

Bhavnagar has so far done nothing for the Tilak Swaraj Fund, which means that you have done nothing. I am pained by your slackness. You understand everything and have money. You know the importance of this work, its bearing on national regeneration, and still refuse to contribute your full share to the Fund. I want you to give your intelligence, your heart, your time and

[1] This was sent in reply to a telegram dated June 19 from Jitendralal Banerjee, a Congressman from Calcutta, which read: "Situation in Bengal urgently demands your presence and counsel. Mr. Das wants further extension and prolongation of strikes but it is the earnest conviction of myself and many true non-co-operators here that these strikes are departures from principle of non-co-operation and are jeopardizing success of Bezwada programme. If coming impossible, wire advice after fully considering situation."

[2] Gandhiji's letter is not available.

your money, all the four things. Such an opportunity will not come again. I should like you to help.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

116. LETTER TO MANGALDAS PAREKH

BOMBAY,
June 21, 1921

DEAR FRIEND,

I hear from Shri Vallabhbhai that the contribution expected from the mills has not yet been received. How can we carry on national work in this way? Either this movement is good and should be supported, or it is bad and deserves to be smashed. But you merely let things take their time. Isn't even Gujarat's honour dear to the mill-owners? Should they not help Gujarat to raise its modest contribution without having to work hard for doing so? I hope you will permit no further delay. You may give anything you choose but I should like you to make a definite commitment. It will not matter if you do not give the whole sum in a lump, but the mills should credit the full amount to the Committee in their books, also provide that the interest on it will accrue to the Provincial [Congress] Committee. The Committee should also be entitled to issue cheques whenever necessary. I certainly expect not less than five lakhs. Everywhere they ask me what the mills have done, the mills which have earned so much through the movement.

Jai Shrikrishna[1] *from*
MOHANDAS GANDHI

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

[1] Form of greeting among the *Vaishnavas*; literally, "Victory to Lord Krishna".

117. *NOTES*

An Ounce of Action

Remarks in the *Servant of India* on the apology of the Ali Brothers show me more forcibly than anything else the truth of the statement that an ounce of action is worth more than tons of speeches. I cannot conceive the possibility of the *Servant of India* wilfully misunderstanding or misinterpreting the apology. Yet it has devoted to the apology three paragraphs which betray a hopeless misunderstanding of it. For me it was, and even in the light of the fierce controversy that has raged round it, it remains, an object-lesson in the practice of non-co-operation. It is the one act which will stand as a guiding-star to the straying non-co-operators. They must continually purify themselves even in front of their opponents, and at the risk of their action being mistaken for weakness. In the process of putting themselves in the right, they must not count the cost. That is the implication of following truth for truth's sake. The immediate prospect may appear ever so black, a seeker must relentlessly pursue what he knows to be truth. The Prophet would have lost his hold many a time had he not thus treated truth as his absolute and final sheet-anchor. Assuming that I gave my advice to the Ali Brothers out of my strength, and they understood and accepted it in their strength, the apology will be found to have done, as I know it has done, good to the cause of Islam and the country. If, therefore, the last issue of *Young India* has not answered all doubts,[1] I must leave it to time to answer them.

Poverty of Expression

Similar, but less important, misunderstanding has arisen regarding my letter[2] to the Moderates. I am amazed at the poverty of expression I betray so often. I am not by any means an indifferent writer. I take great pains to be accurate and plain. And yet I have succeeded in leaving the impression in 'a critic' in the *Servant of India*, that I expect the Moderates to join the non-co-operators in picketing. I do nothing of the kind. Picketing might appear to the co-operators to be too clumsy and too incomplete to commend itself to them. But I thought that they

[1] *Vide* "Notes", 15-6-1921.

[2] *Vide* "To the Moderates", 8-6-1921.

would help the temperance cause *in their own way*, i.e., by immediately abolishing the drink-shops. It is the least they owe to the country. Daily, as the heat of the picketing is increasing, the pickets come in for the attentions of the keepers of liquor shops and of their customers. I understand that two pickets were struck by some ruffians and had their heads broken in Ahmedabad. These brave men now daily appear at their post with bandaged heads. A volunteer was slapped in the presence of a crowd in Bombay, and he stood his ground firmly but did not retaliate. Such instances must multiply, as the effect of picketing is felt by the sellers of spirituous liquors. It is impossible to stop this reform, even though pickets lose their lives in the performance of their duty. The work must continue so long as there are enough young men and women found ready to take up picketing, and so long as they are ready to risk their lives without retaliating. It was because I was aware of the danger that I appealed to the patriotism of the Moderates with a view to abolishing at a stroke all drink-shops, and thus saving young men and young women from injury to limb or life. It grieves me, therefore, to find that I failed in my letter to carry the point home. I am aware that, at some future date, temperance reform will come. It is small comfort to a man whose house is on fire that appliances are in course of preparation to deal with such fires.

British *v.* Other Governments

'Observer' in *The Times of India* asks me some questions pertaining to the movement. I am sorry I have not been able to answer them earlier. They would have escaped me had not a friend sent me the cutting. 'Observer' asks whether the British 'is not a better Government than the Mogul and the Maratha'. I must dare to say that the Mogul and the Maratha Governments were better than the British in that the nation as a whole was not so emasculate or so impoverished as it is today. We were not the pariahs of the Mogul or the Maratha Empire. We *are* pariahs of the British Empire.

What Should Parsis Do?

'Observer' next asks :

> Are the Parsis to ask their children to leave Government and aided schools when no provision is made for national schools adapted to meet the special requirements of the Parsis? Are the Parsi lawyers to boycott law courts and starve their families? Are the Parsis to give up their lucrative vocations and devote themselves to spinning yarn for three annas

> a day? The three annas per day will not suffice to pay their daily bill for soda water, let alone whisky and soda. Or, should the Parsis give up their present dress, which is more European than Asiatic, and go back to the days of their ancestors, who used to put on pyjamas with legs wide enough to carry a dozen fowl? Is it possible, thus, to set back the hand of time? Will Mr. Gandhi be so good as to give a convincing reply to these queries?

Parsis are the pioneers in matters educational. They need not withdraw a single child from the present schools. They need only to rid themselves of the infatuation for degrees, and they can today disaffiliate all their schools. They have money enough to pay for their special education. Parsi lawyers, if they boycott law courts, are, I know, resourceful enough to turn their attention to commerce, which is a speciality with the Parsis, if indeed they will not care to join the national service. They and the nation will be the better for the able Parsi lawyers' renunciation. No one, certainly no Parsi, is expected to give up any lucrative calling not calculated to uphold the prestige of this Government, and to take up spinning instead. But every Parsi with leisure is expected to devote his or her leisure hours to spinning for the sake of the nation. Thus, there is no question of the Parsis giving up their soda. But those who take intoxicating drinks will benefit themselves and the nation by total abstinence. Parsis need not give up their present style of dress, so long as the cloth is hand-spun and hand-woven. But they will lose nothing by reverting to the ancient simplicity of their forefathers. The old Parsi dress was designed to fit the Indian climate. The European style is ugly and utterly unsuitable for Indian conditions. Only their insularity and unimaginativeness have made the English retain their English style in India, even though they admit that it is most uncomfortable for this climate. I venture to think that thoughtless imitation is no sign of progress. Nor is every reversion to old habits tantamount to 'setting back the hand of time'. Retracing a hasty or erroneous step is surely a sign of progress. And it is contended that during the past hundred years, we have taken many a faulty step. Before, therefore, we can move forward, we must go many steps back to find ourselves on the right track. We lost the way, and I invite 'Observer' and all other Parsis to hasten back to the point where we strayed from the right path.

Young India, 22-6-1921

118. THE CURSE OF BETTING

THE EDITOR
Young India

SIR,

I am glad *Young India* and its Editor have taken up the question of the evils of betting. I feel, however, that a casual article in *Young India* is not enough to root out this evil, imported from the West. The evil has spread from the idle-rich to the commercial communities, the middle classes, the labourers working in factories, and the schoolboys. Over and above thousands of people regularly going to the races week after week, there are thousands more to whom temptation to gamble comes in the shape of bucket-shops openly plying their trade in the heart of the city. The Government have appointed a committee to consider the question of closing down these shops, and they will have some legislation at the next session. But that is not enough. Public opinion must be created and it must be definitely shown that race-going and betting is as bad as drinking and prostitution. For this, a strong agitation is required, and I hope readers of *Young India* will respond to it.

BOMBAY, *Yours, etc.*,
26-5-1921 SATYA

As I have already said, unfortunately the races and gambling in connection therewith are fashionable. They do not excite the same feeling of shame that drinking does. Race-going, therefore, is more difficult to deal with than drinking. 'Satya' knows the evils of race-going in a special manner. I invite him to come out in the open and personally tackle the vice which is slowly but surely undermining the morals of society.

Young India, 22-6-1921

119. THE TILAK MEMORIAL FUND

Truly to revere the memory of a person is to achieve his life's purpose. Truly to revere the memory of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, whom India delighted and still delights to call Lokamanya, must be to establish swaraj, and thus for ever to perpetuate his memory. How fine, how noble, if we could establish swaraj on the anniversary of his death? Nor is it impossible to do so during the forty days that remain at our disposal. But my sanguine temperament cannot visualize swaraj by the first of August next. By strenuous work, it is certainly possible to establish swaraj on the first day of October next. It must be death to the Congress, if swaraj cannot be established on or before the 31st December next. But it cannot be, if we do not carry out our Bezwada undertaking to raise one crore of rupees. These lines will be published on the 22nd instant. The reader has therefore to think how to complete the crore in eight days.

Let us know how we stand. If all goes well, it may safely be assumed that forty lakhs will have been collected by that date outside Bombay. That means, let me further state, at least three lakhs in Bengal, four in the Punjab, three in Sind, three in Andhra, three in the C. P., four in Bihar and ten in Gujarat. That makes thirty lakhs. Ten lakhs for the remaining provinces is not an extravagant estimate. Let us assume that all the Provinces but Bombay succeed in collecting all together forty lakhs.

How to collect sixty lakhs in and through Bombay, that is the question. If we are to reach the total of one crore before the 30th June, the amount must be raised chiefly from the available rich men of Bombay and Calcutta, i.e., those who feel for the movement and believe in it.

There should be not only no bother about collecting the crore, but there should be certainty of swaraj in a month, if all the rich men of India could realize that their safety lies, not in fearing the existing Government, but in fearlessly helping the movement. Today, if they are making millions, they are sending billions out of the country, i.e., they are taking the millions and assisting to take the billions out of the mouths of their poor and, in many cases, starving countrymen. Today, they, more than the other classes, are supporting a top-heavy administration, which is keeping up a ruinous military expenditure in order to be able to hold India in the last resort by Dyerism and O'Dwyerism.

But we must take the facts as they are. The richest men are afraid to incur the displeasure of Collectors and Commissioners. Some of them honestly fear the success of non-co-operation. They believe that its success means chaos and destruction of life and property at least for the time being. We must win these over by patiently persevering to impregnate the atmosphere with the spirit of non-violence in thought, word and deed.

Meanwhile, let us realize that the few rich men and the many well-to-do men and women we have with us have to sacrifice more than they are ordinarily used to, if we are to make up the deficiency. A happy beginning has already been made in Bombay. Earnest workers, themselves endowed with riches, are working night and day to make large collections. They are meeting with ups and downs. But they are dauntlessly pursuing their even course.

We must get rid of the habit of waiting to be coaxed. Why should not the moneyed men of Bombay volunteer their assistance and send their gifts? Why should they wait till some one else has begun?

And what of those who cannot give lakhs or thousands each? They can still do much to reduce the burden of the few rich. Let them not wait for a summons from any society. Let each group, each caste, each trade-guild automatically set about collecting and sending to the provincial centres. The remaining days must be utilized for that purpose and no other by those who have any ability for collection.

It is a shame that the total possible collection of the provinces cannot be more than forty lakhs. There is still time to wipe out the reproach, by each province producing selfless workers for the Week of Grace and Privilege, who would concentrate their energies on collections.

Seeing that so many of the moneyed men are abstaining, and seeing that we have not succeeded in organizing collections among the masses, it follows that some must give their all. I know four Gujaratis, themselves workers of standing and ability, who have given their all. One has died, leaving over Rs. 25,000, the whole of his savings, to the Swaraj Fund. I hope the example of the four workers will prove infectious. One loses nothing by giving in the cause of freedom.

If we are to achieve swaraj during this year, the least we can do is to complete the Bezwada programme by the time fixed. The collection of the crore will be a most visible token of its fulfilment.

Membership and the charkha are no less important. I suggest two meetings, one on Sunday the 26th and the other on the 30th

June at every possible village or centre, merely for the purpose of explaining the Congress creed, and inviting all of the age of twenty-one and over, men and women, to become members of any one original Congress Committee. At these meetings, no other work should be done save that of enrolling members and collecting subscriptions for membership. Forms can also be deposited during these days at all places where responsible men will undertake the work of canvassing.

Though we have no census of charkhas, from all the accounts I have received, the spinning-wheel has so far penetrated the masses that it is likely that there are already twenty lakhs of spinning-wheels working more or less indifferently throughout India.

Young India, 22-6-1921

120. DR. POLLEN ON THE WAR-PATH

I have received Dr. John Pollen's open letter. I do not print it here, as it has already appeared in the Press. It is quite like him. He has hardly taken the trouble of studying the non-co-operation movement. Yet he has seen no harm in condemning what he does not know. He asks me to rely upon his own *ipse dixit* in preference to my own experience. The pity of it is that Dr. Pollen's letter represents the average English attitude —laziness to study the other side, and arrogation of omniscience and consequent self-satisfaction. With a people so constituted, either non-co-operation or violence is the only thing that answers. If you murder, they are shocked into action; if you cease to speak to them, they are moved to inquire. The shock produced by murder provokes action, but rarely enlightenment. It creates bad blood, not excluding terrorism. The relief is partial and often proves more dangerous than the disease itself. Whereas the refusal to speak, to participate in the evil, to assist one's own degradation, to co-operate with the wrongdoer, gives strength to oneself, and awakens and purifies the wrongdoer. India, I hope, has chosen the better way for all time. Dr. Pollen is too lazy to see that non-co-operation, being an insurance against violence, necessarily involves the possibility of violence. It is an attempt to supplant violence. The least that non-co-operation has done is to postpone violence, and if it is tried long enough, it will give such strength to the people as would enable them to see that violence is totally unnecessary. Non-co-operation is a septic treatment. It heals without killing.

Dr. Pollen should have known that I remain just as opposed to boycott of *British goods* as ever. I have always advocated, as I advocate today, boycott of *all foreign cloth for all time,* and boycott of such other foreign goods as India can profitably manufacture. The swadeshi that I have conceived excludes the idea of punishment or revenge. It means self-help and recognition of the natural law that the best service to humanity is to help that part of it which is nearest to you. An India self-dependent will help the whole world, an India helpless and clothed by Manchester and Japan harms both herself and the latter.

Dr. Pollen is wrong in his dates. I did not write to the Viceroy after non-co-operation as he suggests, but long before.[1] I did then have faith in the British Government. I began the denunciation of the British administration two years after the open letter to the Viceroy.

Let me further inform Dr. Pollen that, whilst I am a determined enemy of the system of government, to which in my ignorance I was once friendly, I still count myself a friend of the British people. My religion forbids me to have friends and foes. I therefore assure him that I shall for ever be actuated by the same feelings towards the British people as towards brothers, and am now acting towards them as I have acted towards my blood-brothers.

I must adhere to the adjectives I have felt it my duty to use regarding the system, and my business is, whilst calling an evil thing evil, to restrain an outburst of evil passions against wrongdoers. It would be foolish to ignore or hide a disease for fear of the patient running amok in panic. He must be warned of the disease, and provided with a tolerably safe remedy.

Dr. Pollen's ignorant preface is followed by an unsupported denial of all the propositions that I believe in in common with the rest of India, viz.:

(1) The Indian administration is the most expensive in the world.

(2) India is poorer today than it ever has been.

(3) The drink evil has been never so bad as it is today. (Nobody has contended that there was no drink evil in India before the advent of the British.)

(4) India is held in the last resort by a system of terrorism.

Not only does Dr. Pollen deny these truths known to us all, but he asserts that the administration is cheaper than elsewhere,

[1] *Vide* Vol. XIV, pp. 377-80.

and forgets that the Indian Civil Service is the most highly paid service in the world, and that more than a third of the revenue is absorbed by the military service. Imagine the state of a family which has to devote a third of its income for paying its door-keepers!

Dr. Pollen asserts that India is 'really a marvellously rich country inhabited for the most part by a comparatively poor and reckless peasantry'. He then asks me to multiply the average annual income of Rs. 27 by five, and argues that Rs. 135 a year for a family of five will suffice for its support. I suggest to him that Rs. 2-4-0 per head per month will not feed, clothe and house the poorest among the poor, and that I should still further reduce the average for the masses of poor men, because it is reached by including the millions of millionaires. The average income of the poor, therefore, is an incontestable proof not only of the poverty but of the semi-starvation of India.

Dr. Pollen has the effrontery to suggest, in the face of an ever-growing drink revenue, that the present administration discourages excessive drinking.

Lastly, Dr. Pollen not only denies the existence of terrorism but contends that 'in all respects in India, they (we) are as free as the Scots, the Welsh, the people of the Dominions, and as the English themselves'.

Only non-co-operation will dispel such hopeless ignorance.

Young India, 22-6-1921

121. OUR SHORTCOMINGS

Whilst Dr. Pollen's criticism, by reason of its ignorance and arrogant assumptions, irritates without helping, an Englishman in Madras, who signs himself 'John Bull', sends the following very helpful and candid criticism:

> Permit an Englishman to send you a few words of appreciation of your work and career, and a few words of explanation. I am moved to do this by your remarks in *Young India* on Lord Reading's speech[1]. You have, it seems to me, the most valuable capacity of seeing and stating the simple truth in greater measure than any other living politician. You see the root of the trouble in India in the fact that the European in India looks down upon the Indian as an inferior. So do I. But what I want you to consider is, first, "whose fault is that?" And second, "How can it be mended?"

[1] *Vide* "The Viceroy Speaks", 8-6-1921.

Can the Englishman in India help regarding Indians in the mass as inferior to his own people? Those of us who try to see things as they are, what do we see? We find that the Indian is inferior to the Englishman as a servant or employee. He is less conscientious, he takes more holidays, he requires to be watched. We find he is inferior to the Englishman as a master or employer, he has less justice and less generosity. We find him inferior as an animal, he succumbs to disease, he (if of higher class) usually shirks exercise, and is very frequently a worn out old man when he ought to be in his prime. His children die in swarms. Here in Madras, the deaths of children under five frequently are half as numerous as the births. He is inferior as a citizen, very seldom does he resist any pressure towards bribe-giving. He boasts of his humanity because he will not kill animals, but he lets even cows starve to death, and nowhere in any civilized land are horses and oxen so ill-treated as in India. In order to maintain purity of married life, he has built up the institutions of prepuberty marriage and perpetual widowhood, and yet venereal disease is even more rampant in India than in England, and in the name of religion little girls are trained up to prostitution. What record can India show of lives devoted to non-Indian humanity like all those British men and women who (to take one example only) are at work now, in what were enemy countries in the War? If India had obtained complete swaraj and were in danger, would five million men out of every forty-five millions of population voluntarily enlist in her armies?

Out of her vast population, how few are the great men India has produced—three living, Tagore, Bose and Gandhi—an extraordinarily rich crop for India! The population of England in the time of Queen Elizabeth was no greater than that of Mysore today.

All this may seem a very one-sided and mistaken view to you. Probably it is. But how can an Englishman help seeing the comparison between English and Indian in some such light as that?

If so, the remedy is in Indian hands, and not in ours. You are already pointing the way. I do not like your term "non-co-operation", and it does not seem to me to express your meaning. I should prefer "independent action". Let Indians abolish untouchability; let them exercise restraint in marital relations, and not procreate millions of children doomed to early death, let Brahmins learn at school to spin and weave and cease to despise manual labour, let India have one common language spoken and understood from Kashmir to Comorin, whatever local vernaculars are permitted to survive. When there is something to be done, let Indians put their hands to the plough, and not merely say, "The Government must . . . ." These things you have preached, and if all the people who shout "*Gandhiji ki jai*" will do them, Englishmen will speedily entertain much more respect for Indians than they feel at present.

When these things are done, there are plenty more to do. Most important of all, perhaps, is to rebel against the tyranny of ancient custom, when it is no longer felt to be right or necessary. You will no doubt be able to point out one task after another. Meanwhile, we wait and see. Will that crore of rupees be paid up? Will the twenty lakhs of charkhas be obtained, and if so, will they be used? Will non-co-operators learn to maintain self-discipline and abstain from riot? Will Gandhi cease calling a Government consisting of men who, on the average, are more ready to make sacrifices for the service of India than the average Indian is, Satanic? Will the temperance crusade lead to any better result than unbridled illicit drinking?

If we find these questions answered in the affirmative—if—but shall we?

The English are ready to give respect, when it is earned. Do not complain that English do not respect Indians: complain instead that Indians have not commanded respect.

For my own part, I believe you are accomplishing and will accomplish great things. "Man lives by admiration, hope and love." On these great nations are built up. May India be one.

'John Bull's' letter shows that the writer has attempted to understand the movement. Much of his criticism is not wholly undeserved. 'John Bull' has given the experience of the average Englishman. His generalizations, in my opinion, cannot be sustained. His experience is confined to a microscopic minority of Indians, drawn to the cantonments from ambitious motives, and by no means representing the mass of the people. In my opinion, based upon an extensive experience of both the races, man for man the Indian is in no way inferior, in all that matters, to any other race in the world. That as animals we are inferior to Englishmen must be admitted. But that is due more largely to the climate than to anything else. The charge of indifference to the welfare of our animals can also, I think, be easily sustained. I do not believe that, except in large towns, we suffer more from venereal diseases than the other races. Dedication of girls to prostitution is certainly a serious blot on our culture. If Indians were trained in the same manner as Englishmen, and if India was similarly situated as England, she would give quite a good account of herself. But we have a different culture which, I hope, we will retain to the end of time. India's temperament is not warlike. She would refuse to see any greatness in sending her millions to the trenches for the purpose of killing fellow-men, even though the latter might be in error. India including her Mussulman population, is in my opinion more fitted for self-suffering than for inflicting suffering

upon others. It is in this belief that I have ventured to offer to her non-co-operation as a remedy for her many ills. Whether she will really respond or not remains to be seen. If it has been taken up purely from revengeful motives, it will fail. If it has been taken up, as I believe it has been, for the purpose of self-purification and self-sacrifice, it is bound to succeed. That Indians are not a nation of cowards is proved by the personal bravery and daring of her martial races, whether Hindu, Mussulman, Sikh or Gurkha. My point is that the spirit of fighting is foreign to India's soil, and that probably she has a higher part to play in the evolution of the world. Time alone can show what is to be her destiny.

But 'John Bull' is entitled to treat all I have said in answer as so much special pleading. I would far rather that we took such criticism as a friendly warning, and that we began to rid ourselves of all our impurities. I agree with 'John Bull' that it is better to command respect than to grumble about the want of it. And that is exactly the reason why India has taken up non-co-operation. The writer does not like the word. I would reject it today if I could find a better. But it is the only word that meets the case. We have co-operated long enough in our own degradation. It is our duty to refuse to do so any longer. One need not even apportion the blame. The fact stands, as 'Jonh Bull' has properly admitted, that the average Englishman has little respect for us. We must therefore stand aside till we and they *feel* as equals.

But there is the other side to 'John Bull's' argument. His attitude betrays race-repugnance. Assuming the shortcomings to exist, just as they are described by the writer, is that a reason for looking down upon Indians as inferior beings? Or, does not the doctrine of equality require mutual regard, irrespective of the possession of the same qualities? Does not 'John Bull' commit the same error that many Hindus do regarding the 'untouchables'? If I am right in calling the spirit of untouchability Satanic, am I less right in calling the cult of English superiority also by the same name? Do Englishmen behave towards their less fortunate brethren in the same way as they behave towards Indians? Do they not consider themselves to be born to rule, and Indians born to obey, even as Hinduism is said to have consigned the 'untouchables' to perpetual subjection? My whole soul has risen against the existing system of Government, because I believe that there is no real freedom for India under the British connection if Englishmen cannot give up the fetish of their pre-destined superiority. This attitude of Englishmen has deprived the tallest Indian of any chance of rising to his full height and, therefore, in spite of all the

good intentions of individual English administrators, we have really lost in our own estimation, so much so that many of us have come to believe that we require a long course of training under the English, whereas it is my conviction that we are today quite fit to govern ourselves, and therefore we must resolutely refuse to co-operate with them in the administration of reforms that fall short of full self-government. We will no doubt make mistakes, more perhaps than now. We shall learn through our mistakes, never by being forcibly prevented from making them.

Young India, 22-6-1921

122. *TO CORRESPONDENTS*[1]

R. SHARMA: The families of non-co-operation prisoners are being looked after by local workers, wherever the need has arisen.

L. N. DAS: Prize charkhas may be sent to Satyagrahashram, Sabarmati, at sender's cost. The prize of Rs. 5,000 is payable to the inventor of a charkha that spins at least three pounds of even and well-twisted yarn in eight hours. The charkha must be made of parts capable of being manufactured in India, and must not cost more than Rs. 50.

B. NARAYANA: If lawyers, who have suspended practice, do not fulfil the other obligations of non-co-operation or have no faith in the movement, they cannot be regarded as non-co-operators by the mere fact of suspension of practice. It is conceivable that a lawyer may suspend practice for devoting his time to destroying the movement. Motive decides the merit of an act.

V. V. SATHE: It is unnecessary to publish your letter. Even those who may be opposing non-co-operation from ignorance, ill-will or want of faith, must be won over by knowledge, love and faith, respectively.

T.M.: The idea of raising a loan for national purposes is not bad. But you are missing the chief object of the Fund, which is to perpetuate the memory of the late Lokamanya. We must fulfil our own undertaking. If we need more money, we may think of a loan. A loan cannot take the place of the memorial fund, which must be a free gift.

R. C. MATHUR: When untouchability has disappeared altogether, it is not feared that *Bhangis* will refuse to do sanitary work, if they are properly paid and well treated. Sanitary work is

[1] Presumably by Gandhiji

done well enough, if not better, in other parts of the world. But assuming that the *Bhangis*, on the bar sinister being removed, refuse to do our scavenging, we must be prepared to do it ourselves. The removal of untouchability implies that there is no sin or shame in cleaning for other people, even as it is no sin for a mother to clean her baby or for a paid nurse to clean her or his patient.

Young India, 22-6-1921

123. SPEECH AT OPENING OF SCHOOL, BOMBAY[1]

June 22, 1921

In the course of his speech Mahatma Gandhi impressed upon the audience that the one object which they should always place before themselves was swaraj and towards that end their energies must be harnessed. Only that education was useful and should be imparted in their institutions which would make their children love their Motherland, make them patriotic, make them realize their duty even at the sacrifice of their lives and win swaraj before the end of the year. They had to spin and wear khaddar; they had to right their Khilafat wrongs and the wrongs of the Punjab. Miss Krishnabai and Miss Jasalakshmi had not come there for the sake of money, but to do their duty to their country.

Mahatma Gandhi said he had been invited to open the school, although he had no intention of opening any schools at the present time. He had already opened many schools and they knew what his views on such matters were and it was no use repeating them. At this present critical time in the destiny of India, they should have only one object in starting such kinds of schools, and that object was the winning of swaraj; it was not only the winning of swaraj, but winning it within this year. Then they had also to put right the Khilafat question and their Punjab wrongs. They could not leave these two questions out of their consideration. If they were determined to win swaraj this year, they had to consider what they should do towards winning it. They should concentrate all their attention on the vital question of winning swaraj and take steps accordingly. He for one did not think that if their children went without any education, they would suffer very much. India was now suffering much and they wanted swaraj to remove her sufferings. In the first instance, they had to get strength enough to protect their children, and he must say that Indians were not strong enough to protect them. They had to realize their inherent strength for that purpose. Indians had not realized

[1] Gandhiji opened the Lokamanya Rashtriya Kanya Shala, Bombay's first national girls' school, at the Gandharva Mahavidyalaya.

fully their ability to do things; they had not yet realized what things they were capable of doing. When people were ready to die in the performance of their duty, they became the greatest warriors, the greatest men.

There was no greater thing in the world than doing one's duty to the country which had given birth to them. Indians had to teach their children to do their duty to their country in these critical times. He would ask them even to die for their country in doing their duty. That was the primary object they had in view in opening the Kanya Shala and if they kept that ideal always before them, then they deserved nothing but praise. But if they sought to teach in that school only those subjects which Government and Municipal schools did teach, then he would tell them that it was impossible to win swaraj in that way within this year. The first ideal of theirs was swaraj within this year, and with that end in view they should educate their children. They had to make their children realize the importance of winning swaraj for their country and to make them alive to the needs of their country.

Therefore it was that they should teach spinning in the school. Unless every one of them wore khaddar, he did not think they would get swaraj. If they could boycott all foreign cloth before the end of this year, there would not be the slightest difficulty in winning swaraj, and also in preserving it. Towards that object they had to enlist the sympathies of men and women and children and harness their energies. We had to make them all realize the greatness of the object we had to attain. Indians had to make their children feel for their country. If the school he was going to open that day was going to do all those things, then he would ask all parents to send their children to that institution, for by so doing they would be rendering a great service not only to themselves but to their country also at the same time.

They would be able to teach their children patriotism and show them the way to win swaraj. If, however, the parents had not yet realized what their duty to their country was then it was hopeless for them to expect their children to do their duty. His intention in asking the parents to send their boys and girls there was that the latter should use khaddar, and also induce the former to use khaddar. Some people might say that Gandhi was a fool in asking them to wear khaddar. Every man had to do his duty by this country now. Every one of them had to use khaddar and he prayed to God that He would shower His blessings on the new institution which had been opened by him that morning and that He would make it prosper and succeed.[1]

Mahatma Gandhi said he had forgotten to tell them one thing and he had been reminded of it by Mr. Banker. It was not their intention first to start such schools unless they got the teachers they wanted. They had now succeeded in securing the services of Shrimati Krishnabai and Shrimati Jasa-

[1] After Sarojini Naidu had spoken, Gandhiji said a few words again.

lakshmi. The former was the Principal of the Crosthwaite Girls' School at Allahabad and he had met her there while he had been to that city. He had a talk with her then about non-co-operation and also with other women teachers there and Miss Krishnabai had proposed to come down to Bombay to help him in his work to the best of her ability. She was from Maharashtra and she did not like to live in Allahabad; she had been to America for her education and was well educated. She had not come to Bombay for the sake of money, but for doing service to her country. It was impossible for Miss Krishnabai to do this work all alone. She was a Maratha lady and they wanted someone to look after the Gujarati girls and for that purpose they had Miss Jasalakshmi Dalpatram Kavi, who was a first assistant in the Mahalaxmi Training College at Ahmedabad. Even before starting this school, she had left her post and was living in the Ashram at Ahmedabad. She had come down to Bombay to do her duty to the country although she hated living in a big city like Bombay. But she had a duty to perform and that was to look after the Gujarati girls. Indians could with the fullest confidence send their children to this school and leave them in the hands of these two able ladies.

Collections for the Tilak Swaraj Fund were then made and some ornaments and much money was collected. A Parsi girl gave her gold bangle, and a Parsi gentleman a cheque.

Mr. Gandhi said many people were telling him that the Parsi community was not giving any money towards the Fund. He wanted to tell them, however, that it was not a fact. He had received help from them before, he was receiving it now and he had every confidence he would receive it in the future.

The Bombay Chronicle, 23-6-1921

124. MESSAGE TO WOMEN'S MEETING, BOMBAY[1]

June 22, 1921

Mrs. Motiwalla read a message from Mahatma Gandhi asking them to pardon him if he was unable to attend the meeting. He had met his sisters of Bombay many a time and what could he say to them often and often? He was hungry for the freedom and sanctity of Hindustan and his prayer to God was that there should be chastity, fearlessness and simplicity in the Indian women. Without the blessings of women no *dharmarajya* could be established in this land. They had to give up the use of foreign cloth within this year and for that purpose he wanted the help of his sisters. Women should consider it a reli-

[1] The meeting was held under the auspices of the Rashtriya Stree Samaj at Marwadi Vidyalaya Hall, with H.H. Nazli Begum Rafiya Sultana in the chair. Among the speakers were the Ali Brothers. Sarojini Naidu and others made collections for the Swaraj Fund.

gious duty to use the charkha and khaddar, even though they might have to suffer considerable inconvenience. They must wear only those clothes which were made by their own hands. They should consider it a sin to use foreign cloth. Mill-made cloth ought to be used by only the poor people. He required large funds for this work and for that purpose he wanted the help of women. If they could only work for the Tilak Swaraj Fund, he had no doubt that a large sum could be very easily collected by them. It was a happy augury to see his Parsi, Hindu and Mohammedan sisters working towards the fulfilment of that object.

The Bombay Chronicle, 23-6-1921

125. LETTER TO S. R. HIGNELL

LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
June 24 [*1921*]

DEAR MR. HIGNELL,

I have often thought of writing about H.E.'s speech and the *communique* about the Ali Brothers. But I have purposely delayed writing in order that I may not take a hasty step or write a thoughtless word. I want to tell H.E. that I was deeply grieved over the *communique* and the speech. In my opinion neither represents a correct statement of the situation as I understood it when I left Simla. I am deluged with the inquiries about the interviews. I suggest that either an agreed statement giving the purport of the interviews should be published or I should be absolved from the obligation to observe confidence regarding the interviews. I need hardly say that so far as I am concerned I have no desire to treat anything I have said to H.E. as confidential.

Probably you will wire H.E.'s decision. My address up to the 30th June is Laburnum. . . .

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand: S.N. 7559

126. SPEECH ON ROLE OF TEACHERS, BOMBAY[1]

June 25, 1921

Mr. Gandhi said, when he was invited by the teachers, he knew for certain that the teachers would not be able to give him much, but still he had accepted their invitation with great pleasure, because he felt, as an experienced teacher, that the key to freedom of India was in the hands of the teachers. During his travels all over the country, he had been telling the people that the key to freedom and the means of redressing their Khilafat wrong and Punjab grievances were in the hands of the teachers, both men and women. He acknowledged that the women of India had done their duty to the country in the right spirit. If Indians were poor and were so much down in the world, they were as much responsible for those conditions as their rulers. For, while it was right to say that a ruler got the subjects he deserved, it was also right to say that the subjects got the rulers they deserved. He would also say, at the same time, that the people got the teachers they deserved. It was stated in the *Bhagavad Gita* that what a great man did others also did; what learned men and their rulers did, the rest of the men did. The Congress had passed a resolution asking the teachers as much as the lawyers to do their duty to their country and he was quite sure that the teachers who wanted to serve their country would never have to starve.

When he saw the large number of students being taught, and so many teachers being trained in the training colleges, he felt sorry for his country, because he felt sure that the teachers that would be turned out from these colleges were not the fittest persons to undertake the education and training of the young generation of this country. There was so much slavery in these colleges that he despaired of the future of their country. Shrimati Jasalakshmi, who was trained in a Government college and was now a teacher in the National Girls School in Bombay, had told her experiences to him. She had to leave the college because she felt that it was impossible to preserve her dignity and freedom as long as she continued to serve Government in that college. When an educated and respectable woman said that, they would realize what it really was to serve in the Government schools. That was one of the reasons why India was so down in the scale of nations. He had no hesitation in telling them that teachers, like any other men, had taken up the profession of teaching, because they wanted to earn their livelihood and not because it was a good and noble profession and that they were doing good to the country. Just as law-

[1] A meeting of teachers and students of primary schools in Bombay was held atMandvi for presenting Gandhiji with a purse for the Tilak Swaraj Fund.

yers and doctors had taken up their professions as professions, so had teachers taken up theirs, for the sake of making money and for nothing else. Personally, he became a lawyer and went out of India, because his people thought that he would earn more money thereby. He had no intention then of doing any service to his Motherland. He had since then realized that the best thing was to serve one's country. Therefore, he had given up all those things and he appealed to the teachers to give their share of sacrifice in the great sacrifice that the country was doing now.

It was the duty of the teachers to be good and conscientious. Let them teach the boys to be good, fearless and truthful, let them make their students observe *brahmacharya* (celibacy). He was appalled at the adultery that was prevalent in India and he feared that, if things went on in this strain for ever they would never be fit for swaraj. It was not their business to imitate any other country in such matters. It was the duty of the teachers to teach their boys to be brave and truthful. The swaraj they were going to establish was one based on righteousness and not on unrighteousness. They were out to establish *dharmarajya* and they were not going to do that by means of force or other ways. When thousands of Muslims were ready to die and not to kill, when thousands of Hindus were ready to sacrifice their lives and not to sacrifice the lives of others, then they could feel sure that swaraj was theirs. With the solution of the Khilafat question the question of cow-protection would be solved.

He again asked students to observe celibacy, for in no other religion was so much stress laid on that question as in Hinduism. Indians should also give up adultery. They should consider every woman except their wife as their mother or daughter or sister. When he saw so much sin committed in this country, he felt despair in his heart of having swaraj broad-based on dharma. If they were determined on having *dharmarajya*, then their teachers must immediately realize that they had to train the boys in the proper spirit. Only when they succeeded in inculcating the right principles in the minds of their boys and girls would they have good citizens. For their *dharmarajya*, they wanted righteous men and women. But if the teachers themselves expected the students to be truthful, if they told lies to their official superiors, the students would learn that lesson from their teachers. Therefore, they had to be taught by personal example. We had to purify ourselves of our sins; we must be free from those things and not be slaves of vice.

As long as men and women realized not their duty to their country and wanted to use fine foreign cloth instead of khaddar, they would never get swaraj. If they did not entirely give up the use of foreign cloth that year then they could never get swaraj that year. They should not feel sure that simply because they might be able to collect a crore of rupees they could easily get swaraj. They had to do many things before they could realize swaraj. The money they would collect would be used for starting schools and colleges and many other things; many more things, however, remained to be done.

Therefore he would ask the teachers, both men and women, to guard their bodies and keep them pure and undefiled, with as great care as they had to use in regard to their minds. They must keep their bodies pure as well as their soul. They were bound to do that. They had to give up the use of foreign cloth and they had also to teach the boys to use only khaddar on their bodies and not to wear a single piece of foreign cloth. As long as Indians did not do that the poverty of their country would never disappear. It was necessary for Indians to do so because the chastity of their women would be preserved as they would not have to go out of their homes to break stones on roads. They should introduce charkhas into every home and they should be worked as much by the poor women as by the rich. What good would the rich women do to their country by wasting their time in reading story books, etc.? What was required now in India was the universal use of swadeshi cloth and that could only be done by means of the charkhas.

If everyone of them did their duty, he felt sure they could easily establish swaraj within that year. Swadeshi, non-co-operation and abstinence were equally important in the progress of their country towards the goal. They had to abolish the vice of drink from their midst, and for that purpose they should go to the liquor shops determined to be killed in doing their duty in persuading their countrymen not to drink. When they went to those places, they must be prepared even for their death. If a few men died at the hands of the police who were protecting the liquor shops and at the hands of the liquor-shop-owners, they would easily get swaraj. They had to be ready for their death at the hands of the men protecting the interests of the liquor merchants. Only that day he had read of the trouble at Arthur Road and he was sorry he was not there to bear the brunt of the assault.

Another thing he wanted to impress upon the teachers was this : they must teach the children, both Hindu and Muslim, to have perfectly friendly feelings for each other. We had to teach them to have perfect unity among the two peoples. It was impossible, there could be perfect unity between these two peoples unless both of them followed and loved their religions properly. It was not intended that Hindus should become Muslims or that Muslims should become Hindus by giving up their own religion.

The next thing of importance was the raising of their depressed classes, their *Dheds* and their *Bhangis*. As long as they kept down these people, the higher classes themselves would be *Bhangis* and *Dheds*. Because by keeping them down, they dragged themselves down to their level. Mr. Gandhi did not ask them to give their children in marriage to the *Bhangis*, or eat with them. What he wanted was that these people should be treated as their brethren, as fellow human beings. So long as these people were down-trodden it was impossible to achieve swaraj.

The Bombay Chronicle, 27-6-1921

127. SPEECH AT "ANTYAJ" RECEPTION, BOMBAY[1]

[Before *June 26, 1921*]

I do not go to any place if I am likely to get no money there, but I have not come here with that expectation. I readily accepted your invitation because I know the privations of the untouchable brethren. I know your hardships. I am working hard this year to rid Hinduism of the pollution of untouchability. Swaraj is all-powerful. If untouchability does not disappear, then it will not be *dharmarajya* or swaraj which we shall have won. So long as this Dyerism remains in Hinduism, even if we have swaraj, it will not be true swaraj. Though dirty, unclean, or vicious, let him be what he is, no person can be considered untouchable if we have regard for the true principles of religion and, most certainly not, if we have regard for the principle of compassion. The idea that we may be defiled by another's touch I don't accept as a necessary part of Hinduism. That which has no truth and non-violence in it is not religion at all. What should you do so that the caste Hindus may regard you as touchable unconditionally? Someone said that you should perform purificatory rites. But there can be no impurity in you. No one consuming liquor and flesh is regarded as an untouchable for that reason, though even so you must give up these things. I would not visit a Brahmin if he drinks or eats meat, and I certainly insist on equal purity in you. Not only for my sake but for yours, too, you ought to remain pure.

What does it matter to you how the Brahmins behave? See that your own conditions improve. One person asked me why I did not teach you non-co-operation. But so long as there is evil in us, how can we change the Government with it? We should not cheat people in the name of non-co-operation. If my companion is deceitful, I would leave him. You cannot resort to non-co-operation until you have a good number of men of virtue among you. I have become an intermediary between you and the people. I say this to you only as a sincere Hindu. Gandhi will be ready any time to come amongst you and make you fit [to offer non-co-operation]. You should go on working to purify yourselves, for we need to offer a pure sacrifice. I shall do my job.

[1] Gandhiji was presented with an address of welcome by members of the *Antyaj* community.

My sisters, I wish to see the spinning-wheel and the loom in your hands. You, in particular, owe it as a duty to see that everybody is clothed. Bhai Shankarlal has not been able to come here because of a toothache. We who have come will not, you may be sure, take a bath after returning home. Jasalakshmi, grand-daughter of poet Dalpatram Dahyabhai[1], is here. She will be a help to you.

[From Gujarati]
Gujarati, 26-6-1921

128. SELF-SACRIFICE IN GUJARAT

I do not know of any great sacrifice made by Gujarat for a public cause. I do not regard the sacrifice made at the time of the Broach Conference as a sacrifice by Gujarat. It was merely a sacrifice made in Gujarat. We can speak of sacrifice by Gujarat only when a large number of Gujarati men and women give up their all for the cause of the country.

Nevertheless, we shall never know to what extent the spirit of self-sacrifice shown by the friends who resolved, during the conference at Broach, to offer their all will have helped Gujarat to fulfil its pledge. But a person like me, who has faith, will, if Gujarat passes the test on June 30, believe that the chief reason for this was the sacrifice made at Broach.

However that be, if Gujarat wishes to make a supreme effort to win swaraj this very year, it urgently needs voluntary workers who will dedicate their all to the cause. Look at any other province in the country, and we shall find that till now Gujarat has made fewer sacrifices than it. Maharashtra stands at the top. I would describe Bengal's sacrifices as reckless, but it has certainly not shrunk from any. In the Punjab, too, the people's sacrifice has been of no mean order. The very conception of the Arya Samaj has been inspired by a spirit of self-denial. The Sikhs' sacrifices have also been no less.

We cannot claim any such thing for Gujarat. When two young men from Gujarat joined the Servants of India Society, the people were filled with surprise. We took it to be a great act of self-sacrifice when two gentlemen from Surat gave up working for earning money and started running Ashrams. When I spoke of this sacrifice to a professor in the Punjab, he merely smiled and

[1] Dalpatram Dahyabhai Travadi, 1820-1892

said: "I don't call it a sacrifice at all. Have they given up their all? What hardships do they bear? Do they have to worry for their meals the next day?"

Many years have passed since this conversation and, meanwhile, the professor has even been on a pilgrimage to jail. He didn't have a farthing with him.

Gujarat can hold its head high only when a large number of young men come forward to sacrifice their all; only then will it be fit to make its contribution to the cause of swaraj. It is the duty of each and every province to do all it can for winning swaraj. Every province will be equally disgraced if we fail in securing swaraj before the end of this year. No province can blame another. The province which first acquires complete fitness for swaraj will win it for itself and will instantaneously make others ready for it. Winning swaraj means helping the country to overcome its lack of faith in itself and to inspire self-confidence in it. From among some lions which believe themselves to be lambs, if even one realizes the truth about itself, very soon the others will also know themselves to be lions. If even one province demonstrates the complete success of non-co-operation, other provinces will not be slow in following. One may also be sure that the solutions of the Punjab and the Khilafat problems will follow as a matter of course as soon as even one person has acquired the necessary strength. I shall explain some other time in what that strength consists. At the moment, I only want to suggest that, even in working to acquire the needed strength for non-co-operation, large numbers of young men and women will have to make the heaviest sacrifices.

If a man offers up his all, how is he to maintain himself? It is certainly better to give up the idea of service and follow some avocation to maintain oneself and one's family than to live on alms and serve [the country]. The fear expressed in the foregoing question is certainly justified if the idea is that one should live on alms so that one may be free to serve others. But every worker is entitled to what his labour is worth. The kind of service I have in view is not one of leading others, but one which consists in labouring for them. He is the true volunteer who works harder, is more honest, more efficient, more humble and has a better sense of discipline than a paid employee. Such a voluntary worker is paid just enough for living. He does not, thus, live upon alms, but gives true service to the country. He gives more than he receives. The man who reserves something for himself and then claims to give his free services to the country is less worthy than another who has offered up his all. If the common experience is different

from this, it means that in actual fact the worker giving up his all has been stealing. That is, he has given away all his wealth but not his mind and his body. Not only that; claiming to give his all, he takes more than he has given. If, after giving away the lakh of rupees which I had, I involve the country in an expenditure of lakhs and refuse to give all of my time and myself to work, I shall have certainly become a beggar living on alms, nay, more despicable even than a beggar. It is not of sacrifice like this that I have been speaking. The sacrifice which I call for has simply no room in it for behaving like a beggar. Do what one will, such sacrifice cannot be hidden from others. So long as this state of things does not exist in the country, it is vain to think of having swaraj. A swaraj army will come into existence only when some men and women are ready to sacrifice their all; only then will many others come forward to make ordinary sacrifices, and their sacrifices will be to good effect.

The time has come for such sacrifices. The [Gujarat] Provincial Congress Committee has issued an appeal for volunteers. Incompetent persons and those who do not know what vocation to take up may offer themselves, if they wish to, but the applicants I am looking for are such as will be prepared to give up their all, live on what the country can give them and feel honoured in doing so. We shall never win this great war for a holy cause with the help of those who offer themselves as swaraj workers because they can think of nothing else to do. I hope, therefore, that the sacrifice which the friends have made [at Broach] will infect others and I shall have the good fortune to speak of Gujarat's sacrifice as distinct from sacrifice made in Gujarat.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 26-6-1921

129. MADHURI AND PUSHPA

Madhuri and Pushpa are girls of six or seven. It was my greedy hunt for contributions to the Tilak Swaraj Fund that had taken me to the family.

While I sat surrounded by the men and women members of the family, all full of love for me, Madhuri came up, walking with slow, hesitant steps. I called her to me. Unfortunately, they had given me a chair, tables and chairs being the normal thing in the family. Seated in a chair, how could I take up Madhuri? So I drew her to me and put her head on my lap.

"I have cheated you."

"Elders may cheat me, not kids. You cannot have cheated me." I replied with a smile, observing Madhuri's features the while.

"But I have really cheated you; I gave you only a rupee and a half," she said with courage.

"Then, I must say, I have been really cheated. With so many ornaments on you, you gave me only a rupee and a half?" I said, and took Madhuri's little hand in mine. Her bangle danced in my palm. I continued:

"You should then do expiation. Kids should be perfectly innocent. They never cheat anybody. To expiate means to wash off one's sin, to cleanse oneself. You ought to do so now."

"How is it possible to be cleansed now? The fact remains that I have cheated you."

"There is an easy way. You have realized that you ought to have given me your ornaments. That is what made you say you had cheated me. You should now give me all your ornaments and your sin will be washed off."

Madhuri's face, bright till now, fell somewhat. I saw this and resumed:

"What should kids have to do with ornaments? We appear handsome through our actions. Besides, ornaments may be lost. Better give them to help some good cause. And you seem to be a good girl! You confess your error too. You should willingly give your ornaments. I shall utilize them to supply spinning-wheels to the homes of the poor, and to educate children like yourself. Other little girls like you have also given their ornaments."

I paused.

There were two little ruby pendants on Madhuri's ears and on her wrists a pair of bangles with strips of gold and another pair of glass bangles. She whispered:

"Will it be all right if I give these glass bangles?"

I wondered what reply I could give to this child. Shall I take her with me and adopt her as my daughter? But, then, I thought, I have so many daughters like her! And, for the present, I am but a miserly *Bania*, who knows only grabbing. So I said:

"I can get money even for your bangles. But I want all your ornaments. Surely, it should not be so very difficult to part with them! For one thing, your sin will be washed off and, for another, they will come in useful to me. Your ornaments will help us in winning swaraj. Won't you give me all?"

"I shall not give my gold bangle at any rate. Will you accept these (pointing to her pendants)?"

"Now that is something. How nice it would be, though, if you gave me these bangles as well?"

Madhuri felt somewhat unhappy. I kissed her and said, "All right, give me your pendants."

She ran away, returning in a minute. While she was removing the pendants, I said: "But have you obtained mother's permission?"

"Yes, she has given her permission."

"She told me to give everything, but I don't like to part with my bangles."

Madhuri removed the pendants and dropped them into my hands. A tiny gold link had fallen on to the ground. She looked for it carefully, found it and handed it to me.

Do what I might, though, I could not overcome my greed. My eyes would not turn away from the bangles. I did not yet know the girl's name, nor whose daughter she was. I now asked and learnt her name, recognized the worthy gentleman who was her father, and said:

"Really, Madhuri, what do you see in these bangles that you love them so much? What should an innocent girl like you do with ornaments? Won't you give your bangles too?"

Madhuri softened. With her own hands, she removed a bangle and put it into my hand. This was a victory for me, I thought.

But the victory was on Madhuri's side. That little girl had stolen my heart. I envied her parents. "May all parents have such children," I prayed from my heart. My faith in the success of our struggle for swaraj grew stronger. I said to Madhuri:

"You have been so wonderful. I will not accept the other bangle even if you give it. But is it willingly that you have given me what you have? You can take them back, if you wish to."

As I said this, I held out the ornaments before her.

"I gave them quite willingly and do not want them back."

The answer brought fresh blood to me.

I went into another room to see the female members of the family. Some other kids had been following the conversation between Madhuri and me.

2

Pushpa, a neighbour's daughter, removed her bangle and put it into my hand.

"Have you obtained your mother's permission?"

"Yes, Sir. It is with her permission that I give this bangle to you."

"And do you know my terms for accepting all these articles? Little girls who give ornaments must not ask their parents to replace them before we have won swaraj. If they have some others, they may wear them; but, for some time, they must not ask for new ones to be made."

"I have got another such bangle with me. I won't ask for a new one. I have given my bangle to you quite willingly."

Madhuri was looking on. She was also discussing something with her mother. She removed the glass bangles and the remaining gold one, and put them both into my hand!

"I accept this glass bangle. But I told you I would not accept your gold bangle even if you offered it. Please, therefore, do not give it. As it is, you have given much."

"So far as I am concerned, I have given it away to you. I do not want it at all. I have given it willingly. Kindly keep it."

Madhuri scored a victory over me. I broke my word and accepted the other bangle. With wrists and ears bare, Madhuri looked more handsome, to me at any rate. I hugged her to my heart.

Overcome with joy, I offered thanks to God.

Madhuri now addressed herself to a task. She set to work to see other girls' wrists stripped bare. Her efforts met with indifferent success.

Will God, however, judge her from the outcome of her attempt? He has said, in truth: "Do your work; leave the result entirely to Me."

For her part, Madhuri did her "work", not for show but for the satisfaction of the great *atman* inhabiting her little frame.

After exhorting Madhuri and Pushpa to wear khadi and ply the spinning-wheel and after securing a promise from the ladies of the family in regard to both, I left, all admiration in my heart for Madhuri and Pushpa.

If we do not get swaraj this very year, even through the sacrifice of such innocent ones, how great must have been the burden of sin accumulated by us, the so-called elders!

May God ever send into the world children like Madhuri and Pushpa! Let us, men and women alike, salute the stainless *atmans* of such children and learn from them.

I have written down this conversation thirty hours after it took place. I have reproduced it as well as I remember it. Even the children's words are given as they were actually spoken, with-

out any embellishment. I noted all the time that they spoke faultlessly.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 26-6-1921

130. DUTY DURING FOUR DAYS

The 30th June, Thursday, is nearing. *Navajivan* will be in readers' hands on Sunday. Gujarat's and India's test will be completed on Thursday.

1. Gujarat should collect Rs. 10 lakhs for perpetuating the memory of Lokamanya Tilak and for winning swaraj.
2. Three lakh members should join the Congress.
3. Gujarat should take the number of spinning-wheels put into commission to one lakh.

If we resolve, we can complete what remains undone.

Every reader of *Navajivan* should, without waiting for anyone to approach him, pay up what he can at the nearest collection centre and obtain a receipt for it.

Every reader should persuade his friends to contribute.

Every reader, if he is 21 years of age and is not yet a member of the Congress, should become one without delay and persuade others to do likewise.

Every reader should acquire a spinning-wheel, if he has not already got one, and learn spinning.

Knowing that these four days are invaluable and will not come again, every reader should devote as much of his time as possible exclusively to these three tasks.

Every reader should look upon the nation's work as his own and attend to it expeditiously.

No one should think that nothing can be done in the four days which remain.

During four days, thousands will be born and thousands will die.

In but one night, the future of a man like Ramachandra changed; in but one day, Harishchandra gave up everything for the sake of truth and Yudhishthira lost his kingdom in gambling. One day can be of no little value in a man's or a nation's life. What may not four days do then? If Gujarat wants swaraj—the rule of dharma—to be won through its efforts, it must score full marks in this first test.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 26-6-1921

131. TO KATHIAWARIS

As the end of June approaches, my eyes turn more often to Kathiawar. At the moment, I propose to discuss where Kathiawar stands with regard to contributions. I intend to deal with other matters later.

The work for swaraj concerns the whole of India. Indian States stand to gain in no small way through swaraj. Rulers of Indian States know that the swaraj movement has increased their strength and the subjects know that it has increased theirs.

This movement is not for the liquidation of kingship, power or wealth, but for their purification. To the degree that duplicity disappears from us, to that degree will the swaraj barometer register a rise. This movement is for ending duplicity, wickedness and irreligion.

What will be the contribution of the Princes in Kathiawar, and their subjects, to this movement? So far there has been none. If it wills, Kathiawar can raise the balance necessary to complete the figure of one crore. The enterprising people of Kathiawar have gone to a great many places for business. They are certainly contributing to the local funds wherever they reside. I should like them to give more than they do. But, then, these are their contributions as Indians. As Kathiawari Gujaratis, however, what will they send from Kathiawar? What will they contribute towards Gujarat's quota of 10 lakhs? Or, rather, cannot they exert themselves and raise Gujarat's quota to double that figure?

The *Memons* of Porbandar, Ranavav, Kutiana, Jetpur and Dhoraji can, if they decide, raise one crore from among themselves. Just one *Memon* from Jamnagar can fill the gap of 60 lakhs, if he is so inclined.

But one Prince in Kathiawar, if he understands the sacred duty of spreading the use of the spinning-wheel, can provide a crore of rupees to the Swaraj Fund, for being spent exclusively on that cause.

But I know that I should not entertain any such hope. The Princes or *Memons* do not have such faith yet. The present fund is a test of everyone's faith.

How much would we not willingly spend for curing a disease from which we ourselves suffer? How many of us —Hindus,

Muslims, Parsis, Christians and Jews—consider India's disease as their own? What is the number of such persons, whether among the Princes or the poor? How much is everyone of us prepared to spend to cure India of the fearful tuberculosis from which she suffers? This is the test to which all of us are being put. Every Indian has to answer before June 30. Every Kathiawari must do his duty.

Those who do not believe that India is suffering from tuberculosis or who do not think that any item in the present movement will cure India of the disease, certainly need not contribute anything. I have come across few Kathiawaris who have these doubts and, therefore, I hope for much from Kathiawar.

The people of Wadhwan and Viramgam raised my hopes. Zalawad has had an ill-name on account of its poverty and narrow-mindedness. That same Zalawad has given me a surprise. If Zalawad by itself can contribute more than Rs. 25,000, what must Halar and Sorath and Gohilwad give? And what Bhavnagar? The last is, at present, the biggest port in Kathiawar, with a thriving business. The people are relatively well off. Where is the share it ought to have contributed?

The women of Zalawad, I must admit, disappointed me. I saw a good number of them [at the meeting]. But I was pained to find that the contribution by the women who attended the two meetings at Wadhwan was the lowest I had known at any place in the whole of India. Could it be that they had not heard about swaraj, about *dharmarajya*? Or did the fault lie with the men? Was it that they had done nothing to educate the women about this holy cause? Let the reason be what it is. I for one have great hopes of my sisters in Kathiawar. They have taken well to the spinning-wheel. Hundreds of poor women among them are earning their livelihood through it and serving Mother India at the same time. Will not the well-to-do women give their jewellery or contribute in cash?

Kathiawaris claim me as one of themselves. That love of theirs will now be tested. If, despite their love for me, I fail in convincing them, how can I ever hope to win over other Indians? If Kathiawar has understood my message, I shall certainly expect its contribution to be the biggest.

May God fulfil that hope!

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 26-6-1921

132. SPEECH AT BOMBAY MEETING[1]

June 26, 1921

Mahatma Gandhi said he was thankful to the people of Santa Cruz for collecting more than Rs. 30,000 although their share was only Rs. 15,000. He was gratified at this. He was proud of Santa Cruz because he was a resident of Santa Cruz often in the past[2] and he was glad that the people of Santa Cruz had not yet forgotten him. The greater the love and confidence shown in him by the people of Bombay and the rest of India, the greater was his own responsibility to the people, the greater was the burden that rested on his shoulders. What could he tell them at the end of the year? But whatever might be the result of their efforts, he was confident that their labours would never be in vain and that they would be benefited a great deal. However in his heart of hearts he felt certain that they would get swaraj by the end of the year. The women and children of Santa Cruz should not think that they alone had done very valuable work for the cause; they must remember that children and women all over India had done the same thing. All over India, men, women and children, and poor men, had given their quota to the Swaraj Fund. Compared to what the poor had done, he did not think that the rich had done their share of duty. Comparatively, the poor had given more than the rich and the former had done their duty to the country. So had the Bohras, the Parsis and the Christians. He had never any doubt in his mind about the Parsi community, and, comparing to their population the contribution they had made, he would say that they had done more than their share of the work—more than even other communities—to the country. Even at this time of day, he was confident of receiving more money from the Parsis than other communities. If he did not receive it today, he would receive it tomorrow. He was sure that the Parsis were with them and not against them and that they would not keep themselves aloof from other communities.

Swaraj could never be granted to them by other people; it had to be acquired by them. He would tell his friends that so long as they did not solve the Khilafat question and did not get justice for Punjab wrongs, they would never get swaraj. Even more than swaraj, these two things were important. They had to keep them in the forefront of their programme. Whatever other concessions their rulers might give them, they would never be satisfied. These two things were like poison in their body politic and they had to throw out that poison. So long as people did not feel satisfied that they

[1] It was held to present Gandhiji with a purse for the Tilak Swaraj Fund.

[2] This was in 1901-2 when he was practising as a lawyer in Bombay.

had got swaraj, they might take it that they had not got it. When everyone of them, rich or poor, high and low, had realized swaraj within himself, then swaraj was surely attained. He would not give them any definition of swaraj just now. But, if the whole of India said, either by the end of October or December, that they had not got anything, then he also would say the same thing with them. He could not make them feel or realize or recognize a thing which they themselves were incapable of so doing. They must not think that, because they had got together one crore of rupees, swaraj was already at hand. They must remember that these were the sinews of war and it was a sign that the people wanted swaraj at the end of the year.

He did not think that the residents of Santa Cruz had made a contribution which was beyond their power. When he undertook to collect the crore of rupees he had great faith in the city of Bombay to furnish him with that sum, even if the other parts of the country were not able to do their duty. He did not think that the women and children of Santa Cruz had given him their due share. They must not think of these things in the *Bania* spirit although he himself was a *Bania* (Laughter.) Women had great power in their homes and they could give as much as they liked without let or hindrance. He wanted to ask them whether they had given him 2½ per cent of their whole property. If they wished, they could have easily given him the required sixty lakhs. Within the next four days they had to make good the deficit; they should not think of those things in a *Bania* spirit—they must do their duty to their country. He had been told by Mr. J. K. Mehta with evident pride that they had 40 charkhas in Santa Cruz, whereas he saw before him more than 400 women and he was surprised that they were not using the charkhas.

Mr. Gandhi then spoke at some length on the use of the charkha for driving away poverty from this land. Both rich and poor women should use the charkha and he wanted the blessings of those women who wore khaddar spun and woven with their own hands. He was sure he would reach the goal which he had kept before himself with their blessings. For the swaraj which they all wanted, three months were too many—it was too long a period of time. They wanted to attain swaraj by a complete change in the mentality of the whole of India. He asked them not to rest content with what they had done, but to do their best to give him more and more contributions. It was the duty of Bombay to give him more money, because it was through Bombay that the whole of India, every town and village, was flooded with foreign piece-goods. He wanted the city to atone for its sin by paying the sixty lakhs which was the deficit now. They knew that where there was truth, there was victory.

About their complaint that they wanted their committee to be affiliated to the Bombay Provincial Committee, Mr. Gandhi said that if they wanted to join Bombay, nobody could keep them out of it. If they so desired, the money they had collected could either go to the Maharashtra Committee

or the Bombay Committee, the Treasurers of the latter being Messrs Tairsee and Motiwalla. These Treasurers had not the least power to spend a single pie out of these funds. The Secretaries of the Committee were Messrs Umar Sobhani, Banker and Dr. Velkar, and people could rely on them not to waste a single pice. They had made a mistake in putting their sole trust in him alone, for it was impossible for him to look after all the funds that were collected in India. He had done his best to give the management of the funds to good men—for the atmosphere of India had purified a great deal. He could assure them that not a single officer in charge of the funds would use the money for his own purpose, and he had the fullest confidence in every one of them. He did not know the names of the members of the Bombay Committee, but he knew the Treasurers and Secretaries and they could be relied upon implicitly. He had not asked them to hand over their monies to Mrs. Naidu because she was not a good accountant, although she might coax them, and even threaten them into giving money for the Swaraj Fund with her sweet voice. (Laughter.) They could therefore give their money with the fullest confidence. As regards the use of those funds, they would be used for opening new schools and colleges and for introducing charkhas. It was not the intention of the Committee to live on interest alone. They wanted to spend the whole capital for the regeneration of India.

Addressing the *Vaishnavas* and *Shravakas*, he said as long as they did not treat the depressed classes as their brethren, they would never get swaraj. So long as one man treated another human being with contempt and with hatred, they could not get swaraj, for they were not fit for it. He appealed to Hindu—*Shravakas* and *Vaishnavas*—to abolish, for ever, untouchability from their midst. The feeling of untouchability was Satanic. Just as they wanted to do away with the Satanic Government, they must also be prepared to do away for ever with this Satanic system from themselves. What could they say of a state of things which did not allow their poor brethren to take water from a well or go to a hospital when they were ill? How could they say that they were fit for swaraj with this bar of untouchability which kept the poor in a down-trodden condition?

The Bombay Chronicle, 27-6-1921

133. TELEGRAM TO MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA

BOMBAY,
June 28, 1921

PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA
SIMLA

NEVER INTENDED APOLOGY[1] GOVERNMENT. IF I HAD WOULD HAVE STATED CLEARLY. WROTE VICEROY LAST WEEK FOR PUBLICATION AGREED ACCOUNT INTERVIEW OR ABSOLUTION FROM CONFIDENCE.

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1921

134. NOTES

OFFICERS AND OFFICIALS

The Viceroy's reply to the Ahmadiyya community shows that he has passed into the hands of a bureaucracy that is clever, united and utterly unscrupulous. His defence of officers and officials supplies the meaning of racial equality. The Viceroy sees no inequality in the impunity with which Europeans may commit crimes against Indian humanity. I recall the extraordinary judgment of a Punjab magistrate, who considers that justice is satisfied when he draws upon his imagination for extenuating causes, and fines a young Irish soldier fifty rupees for interfering with the liberty of an innocent Indian woman.

His Excellency does not care to study the daily Press which is replete with instances of insults hurled against Indians by Europeans. He seems to be unaware of the fact that British officers will not tolerate the presence of Indian judges in their railway compartment. The Viceroy says: 'There is no foundation, I verily believe, for any suggestion that the British official is anxious to assert racial superiority over the Indian with whom he comes in contact.' I assure Lord Reading that his observation is so contrary to the everyday experience of the average Indian that it must prejudice the people against the soundness of his judgment or even the honesty of his purpose. They will see in his certificates of character to officials and officers a studied refusal to see the truth and

[1] *Vide* "Notes", 15-6-1921 and 29-6-1921.

do justice. They will not give him the benefit of the doubt and think, as I do, that the Viceroy is not wilfully blind but is not permitted to see things, except so much as the bureaucracy is prepared to let him see.

From the Five Hundredth Floor

The fact is that it is impossible for any Viceroy to see the truth, living as he does on the mountain-tops seven months in the year, and in complete isolation even when he lives on the plains. Imagine a business man in Bombay conducting his business from top-floor, with only lifts and 'phones between him and his clerks and salesmen. The people of Bombay are hardly satisfied with the condition wherein at least there is an unbroken chain of inhabited floors between the top and the ground floors. But with the big business house in Simla and the groaning millions on the plains, there is solid, dead rock, and even the piercing cry of the feeble millions is broken into nothingness, as it heaves up to the mountain-top from the plains. Prince Siddhartha was kept in such isolation that he did not know what misery, want and death were. He was an honest lad. But for an accident, he would have been lost to the world. Well, he was living not much above his people. He had the same coloured pigment as his father's subjects. Whilst Siddhartha was living hardly thirty feet above the people, the Viceroy lives seven thousand five hundred feet[1] above them. It would be no fault in him, if he did not willingly cut himself from the people, that he could not understand the people's hopes and fears. So long as he lives both physically and mentally in Simla, so long will he be kept in ignorance of the truth, even as Siddhartha was. But there is an accident in store for him, as there was for the renowned young prince, whom the world worships as Buddha the enlightened. Non-co-operation is the accident. And if Lord Reading has open eyes and open ears, it will not be long before he sees and hears the truth.

The Savarkar Brothers

'Ditcher' of the *Capital* has thrown mud at these brave brothers. He has charged one of them with having, during imprisonment, abused the wireless and plotted with the enemy. He has entered into details, as if the writer had been officially prompted to write the paragraph. If the charge is true, the Government should publish the facts. As it is, it stands, and must have discredited the

[1] Simla's mean height above sea-level

brothers in the eyes of the public. They are, I understand, not non-co-operators. They claim to be absolutely innocent, and have a clear cause of action against the newspaper concerned. Be that however as it may, Dr. Savarkar informs me that one of them, Mr. Ganesh, has already served, if we count the remissions, fourteen years and two months, and that therefore, under the law, he is entitled to discharge. Section 55 of the Indian Penal Code runs:

> In every case in which a sentence of transportation for life shall have been passed, the Government of India or the Government of the place within which the offender shall have been sentenced may, without the consent of the offender, commute the punishment for imprisonment of either description for a term not exceeding fourteen years.

It is clear under this section, that Mr. Ganesh Damodar Savarkar should have been discharged two months ago. The brothers having been removed from the Andamans, the section I have quoted must operate in their favour, and they may not be detained for a period exceeding fourteen years. All remissions already granted must count in reduction of fourteen years. This instance brought to light by the assiduity of an affectionate brother is probably not the only one of its kind. The world will never know how many illegalities have been perpetrated in the name of law. I am loath to imagine that Mr. Savarkar is being wilfully and wickedly detained. But that is poor comfort to the injured.

The Gateway of Freedom

There are still people, even in advanced circles, who doubt the efficacy of imprisonment for securing India's freedom. They think that imprisonment deprives the people of the services of brave men. It is as much as to say that the bravest soldiers should not run any risk for fear of their guidance being lost to the cause they espouse. Such sceptics forget that the Lokamanya owed his immense popularity and influence to his having suffered imprisonment. Jesus's death on Calvary was his crowning achievement. The passion of Imam Hasan on the field of Karbala made Islam a power in the world. Harishchandra is remembered for his endless sufferings. India cannot attain freedom until lakhs upon lakhs have become fearless and are ready to seek imprisonment in their innocence. And if lakhs are not ready, thousands must be actually imprisoned before India attains freedom. Non-co-operation is intended to evoke the truest bravery of the nation. We must be prepared to defy sufferings even unto death if we will be free. He who saves himself shall perish.

MAY WE DEFEND?

If it is true that we must fill the gaols of India for the sake of legitimately opposing the will of this Government, it follows that we cannot defend ourselves before a British court of law, much less can we engage counsel. I know, it is possible to imagine hard cases as, say, of the Savarkar brothers. If I knew them to be convinced non-co-operators, I would have no hesitation in advising them to waive any action for damages against their persecutors, even though they may be wholly in the right. Though the abstention in such cases will be due more to the resolution of the boycott of British courts, it will be equally necessary in terms of the law of suffering.

THE APOLOGY AGAIN

Nothing has caused so much waste of time as the Simla interview and the Apology. From among the many letters before me, I wish to deal with only one. A respected friend[1], who is jealous of my reputation for honesty and fairplay, tells me that the talk in Simla is, that I have been unfair to the Viceroy, that I have almost accused him of breach of honour and that I have possibly and unconsciously swerved from the truth in saying that the apology is not made to the Government. I still hold that the apology was not tendered to the Government. If it was, I would not have hesitated to make it clear in the wording itself. It was meant not to be ambiguous. There was no occasion for concealing anything for saving the face of the Ali Brothers. I hasten to assure everyone, not excluding His Excellency, that if I find that I have strayed from truth by a hair's breadth, I shall apologize to him and to the world. I hold truth above my influence in my country or anywhere else. I am not conscious of having accused Lord Reading of breach of honour. A rapid conversation is a mental cinematograph. The mind takes in the word-pictures as fast as they come, but it does not retain them all fully or in their exact order in memory. It is possible that we both have carried different impressions of the various interviews. I have given mine with the utmost accuracy, and as much as I could, without being guilty of a breach of confidence. But I see quite clearly that the public is befogged. It will not be satisfied without a fairly full report of the interviews. I am anxious to satisfy its curiosity. To that end I have already entered into correspondence with

[1] This was evidently Malaviya; *vide* "Telegram to Madan Mohan Malaviya", 28-6-1921.

H. E. the Viceroy, and asked that either an agreed version may be published, or I may be absolved from the promise of confidence. So far as I am concerned, I have no confidences to be respected. But I recognize that the position of a Viceroy is totally different from that of a public worker like myself. I must ask those who are eager to know the whole story to be a little patient. Meanwhile, I wish to acknowledge one serious mistake, I see, I have made. I ought to have asked to be shown the *communique* that was to be issued. I was anxious not to go back to Simla and further interrupt my tour, and I was so certain that everything would pass off nicely and creditably to both parties. With all experience of honest misunderstandings and worse, I should have done better. But that was not to be. I am, however, quite certain that although it is unfortunate that a great deal of bitterness has been generated by the controversy, the country's cause will be found to have gained rather than suffered. Meanwhile, I must accept the verdict of the good Maulana Abdul Bari that the harm in the shape of the drooping of the spirits of non-co-operators is apparent, the gain is in the womb of the future. Let us watch and wait.

PARSI GENEROSITY

Mr. Godrej of the safe fame has eclipsed all donations to the Tilak Swaraj Fund with his announcement of three lakhs of rupees. His donations to public purposes have been hitherto quite unknown. But he was induced to appreciate the necessity this time of a public announcement. I tender my congratulations to Mr. Godrej and the whole Parsi community. I wish also to testify that, during the collection week in Bombay, not a day has passed without Parsi donations. Parsi ladies and gentlemen are also making door to door collections. Parsis are also working as pickets. Among the newspapers, too, not all the Parsi papers are hostile to the movement. But Mr. Godrej's generosity puts the Parsis easily first in all India. Parsi Rustomji's [Rs.] 52,000 would in any case have put the Parsis in a respectable position. Mr. Godrej has secured the first place.

DANGER AHEAD

The liquor-shop picketing has an intimate relation to Parsis. We will have to exercise great forbearance towards our Parsi countrymen. While we cannot stop picketing altogether, we must meet the liquor-dealers in conference, understand their difficulties and explain our own. Mr. Godrej has earmarked his donation for liquor prohibition and the uplift of the suppressed classes.

Let us not, therefore, think that all Parsis are necessarily hostile to the great temperance movement. At the present moment, an outbreak of violence is most to be feared from the temperance campaign, unless the Moderate ministers take their courage in both hands, refund all auction bids and close liquor-shops. I assure them that the movement can only be regulated, it cannot be checked. The people are bent on ending liquor-shops, and treating as a crime all liquor-selling except as a medicine by chemists. It is a matter that brooks no delay.

How It Purifies

Everyone knows Mr. Abbas Tyabji. Ever since his labours on the Congress Committee's Punjab Report,[1] Mr. Abbas has been doing some service or other to the country, but non-co-operation has revolutionized his life, as it has many other lives. Mr. Abbas, though old, is now working night and day in Kheda in order to finish its part of the Bezwada programme. He is not used to the strenuous life of the peasant. And yet he is at the present moment engaged in mixing with the simple farmers of Kheda on their own terms. Young friends working with him tell me that he is beating every one of them in energy and application. I am sure the reader will appreciate the following from a letter which he wrote to me in reply to mine betraying anxiety about his health. This is what he says :

> I assure you, you need have not the slightest anxiety about my health. I have not been healthier for many years. In fact, the khaddar adopted at Bezwada has simply made me twenty years younger. What an experience I am having! Everywhere I am received most cordially and affectionately even by the women of the villages. Most of the places visited by me have subscribed twice or thrice their quota. It is only the big towns like Anand and Nadiad that lag behind. But Nadiad, where I have already spent four days, is coming up and I feel that it will make up its quota, if indeed it does not even go beyond it. Today I am going to Kapadvanj, and I shall continue to pass my nights at Nadiad; otherwise, the good friends will go to sleep. . . .
>
> Some of our workers are lacking in 'go'. I suppose, they represent the very respectable class to which I have ceased to belong. God! What an experience! I have so much love and affection from the common folk to whom it is now an honour to belong! It is this fakir's dress that has broken down all barriers. And now men and women meet me as I would have them meet. If one had only known years ago, how the

[1] The reference is to the Report of the Sub-Committee appointed by the Indian National Congress to inquire into the Punjab disorders; *vide* Vol. XVII, pp. 114-292.

fenta, the *saya*, the *angarakha*, boots and stockings separated one from one's poorer brethren! How, so dressed, it was impossible to get them to confide in one is what I realize only now. How much I have missed in life is just dawning on me. . . .

How much the movement has affected the course of my life is only dimly perceptible to me. Still I do perceive it, which is what counts. To realize what pleasure there is in giving is also a fresh experience.

In Praise of The Charkha

A Christian lady writes:

I shall do my very best in working for winning swaraj by the spinning-wheel. Just before I left, I succeeded in getting good wheels made. *Rathinums* we call them in Tamil.' And the poor women came, and asked me to give them a wheel and to teach them to spin so as to earn a little for their living. I then remembered the word of Christ, "I was naked and you clothed me not", "I was hungry and you gave me not to eat." I hope that my Master will not say that hard word to me on the Day of Judgment. India is naked and starving. Her poor women, whose children are crying for bread, have been tempted to sell their honour in order to feed them. And the more is the pity, as India has enough of natural riches within her own borders. She is like a naked starving woman sitting by the roadside in the midst of cotton, rice and wheat fields. Why are the women of India sitting idle, while foreigners grow fat on her produce? Because they take away the work the women of India ought to be doing. The spinning-wheel will give India work, and give the little ones the morsel of food they are crying for. And to the music of the spinning-wheel the women will sing their beautiful songs, tell their stories of old, and the beauty and the contentment of simple home-life will be renewed. If I had the gift of a poet, I would sing the song of the spinning-wheel, of its beauty and its usefulness, of its poetry and its religious value. I would sing a song of praise to God for helping us in our hour of need. I should ask all my sisters in India to take to the spinning-wheel keeping the wolf of hunger and starvation and dishonour from their door. . . . But I am not gifted. The song is singing only in my own soul. What can I do then but let the spinning-wheel sing its own song, while I am working it and teaching others to do likewise?

This lady has already become a fairly accomplished spinner, and is about to devote her resources to opening a school for girls where spinning will be a special feature.

The True Spirit

The Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee has finished its election of members on the All-India Congress Committee. I

give the names in the order in which the members were elected. Abbas Tyabji, Imam A. K. Bawazeer, S. F. Edrus, Anasuyabehn Sarabhai, M. K. Gandhi, Vallabhbhai Patel, Mahadev Desai, Indulal K. Yagnik, Dr. Dikshit, Dr. Chandulal Desai, Mohanlal Pandya and Vamanrao Mukadam. The election naturally took place by proportional representation. I would not have troubled the reader with the names but for the lesson the election carries with it. The reader will observe that there are three Mussulmans elected and they are first on the list, showing that the electors were determined to ensure their election. Numerically, not more than two need have been elected, but the electors wisely decided to elect all the Mussulman candidates. They next wanted to ensure the election of at least one lady, and so Shrimati Anasuyabai comes next. The most noteworthy feature of the election, however, is that, whilst all good workers have been elected, many equally good and able workers have simply stood aside. They did not stand for election. I commend this spirit of self-effacement to all whom it may concern. There should be no rivalry among workers for offices of honour. All must aim at becoming the most efficient workers. But all cannot possibly be elected to offices of honour, if they also carry heavy responsibility with it. The best way is for everyone to be ready to stand aside, and let the others be elected. Thus is it possible to avoid bitterness, unhealthy rivalry and heart-burnings. The best service is certainly possible, even though one may never hold any office. Indeed, the best workers all the world over are generally the most silent.

Muslim Representation

Several complaints have been received regarding the advisory resolution of the Working Committee about the Lucknow compact. The only section of the new Constitution bearing on Muslim representation is the one regarding the rights of minorities. As it was brought to the notice of the Working Committee that Mussulmans were getting nervous about their representation and desired observance of the Lucknow compact in the Congress, it was thought advisable to give the guidance in that direction. Attempts are certainly being made to divide us. Mussulmans have only now begun to come in. And it is the duty of the Hindus to hold out every lawful inducement to them to join the Congress. It must be the common meeting ground for all races and religions. Where Mussulmans do not come forward at all in spite of entreaty, the seats can be left vacant for want of candidates, or filled in by others pending the appearance of suitable Muslim candidates. Some

friends urge that we should just now think not of special claims, but only of efficiency. Efficiency is undoubtedly admirable, but we can easily make of it a fetish as our English friends have done. Unity is more important than efficiency. Unity for us is efficiency. The only thing we may not sacrifice to unity is principle or conscience or, which is the same thing, truth.

Cow-Protection

Apropos of Hindu-Muslim unity, I would once more revert to cow-protection. No Hindu has this more at heart than I have, but I refuse to be impatient. We will never succeed in stampeding our Mussulman countrymen into stopping cow-slaughter. They cannot feel for the cow in the same sense and measure as we Hindus do. We can only put them on their honour by being honourable ourselves. Bihar still continues to be the storm centre. I would urge both Hindu and Mussulman leaders to take time by the forelock and nip the evil in the bud. Nor must the Hindus of Bihar mix up vegetarianism with cow-killing. The two stand on a different footing. Cow-protection is the creed of twenty million Hindus, vegetarianism is confined to a small minority. The latter cannot be permitted to force its views upon others.

The All-India Congress Committee

The enlarged and newly-elected All-India Congress Committee is to meet on the 22nd July at Lucknow. It will be a momentous meeting. It has to evolve a programme that would ensure the establishment of swaraj and redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs during the year. It has either to elect a new Working Committee or else confirm the old if all are re-elected members of the new All-India Congress Committee. It will probably be called upon to re-discuss some of the decisions of the Working Committee. Its deliberations will largely decide the question of attainment of swaraj within the year. One is entitled, therefore, to hope that there will be a full house to deliberate upon the vast issues that will be raised before that body.

After June

Some people seem to be under the impression that after the 30th June, no further effort need be made regarding the Bezwada programme. This is an absurd superstition. Even if we have made our crore members and twenty lakhs of charkhas,we must increase both. We may stop the Tilak Swaraj Fund, when we have reached the minimum, but no harm can come if we collect more. As it is, many provinces will be found far short of their

quota on the 30th June. They will, therefore, be certainly expected to continue their collections, at least up to the time of the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee.

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135. THE TURKISH QUESTION

If we mean really well by our Mussulman brethren, we must sympathize with them over the movement going on in Europe to destroy Turkish nationalism. It is a thousand pities that the British Government is secretly or openly leading the movement. Let Hindus not be frightened by Pan-Islamism. It is not—it need not be—anti-Indian or anti-Hindu. Mussulmans must wish well to every Mussulman state, and even assist any such state, if it is undeservedly in peril. And Hindus, if they are true friends of Mussulmans, cannot but share the latter's feelings. We must therefore co-operate with our Mussulman brethren in their attempt to save the Turkish Empire in Europe from extinction.

Hindus may not then be agitated when Mussulmans become alarmed at the slightest hint that the British Government might openly join the Greeks against the Turkish Government in Angora. If Britain should go so mad, India cannot possibly help the British Government in any such design upon Turkey. It would be tantamount to a war with Islam.

England has her choice. She can no longer hold the awakened Hindus and Mussulmans as slaves. If India is to remain equal partner with every other member of the Empire, India's voting strength must be infinitely superior to that of any other member. In a free commonwealth, every partner has as much right to retire if the rest go wrong, as it is his duty to remain so long as the rest are faithful to certain common principles. If India votes wrong, England can retire from partnership, as every other partner can. Thus, the centre of equilibrium must shift to India rather than to England, when India has come into her own. That is my meaning of swaraj within the Empire. Brute force must be ruled out of account in all deliberations. Reference must be had always to reason and never to the sword.

And as with England, so with India. The latter, too, has her choice. Today, we are striving for swaraj within the Empire in the hope that England will in the end prove true, and for independence if she fails. But when it is incontestably proved that Britain seeks to destroy Turkey, India's only choice must be independence.

For Mussulmans, when Turkey's existence, such as it is, is threatened, there is no looking back. They would draw the sword if they could, and perish or rise victorious with the brave Turks. But if, as is certain, thanks to the policy of the Government of India, they cannot declare war against the British Government, they can at least forswear allegiance to a Government which wickedly goes to war against Turkey. The duty of the Hindus is no less clear. If we still fear and distrust the Mussulmans, we must side with the British and prolong our slavery. If we are brave and religious enough not to fear the Mussulmans, our countrymen, and if we have the wisdom to trust them, we must make common cause with the Mussulmans in every peaceful and truthful method to secure Indian independence. For a Hindu, as I conceive Hinduism to be, whether for independence or for swaraj within the Empire, there is no road but non-violent non-co-operation. India can have dominion or independent status today if India learns and assimilates the secret and the invincible power of non-violence. When she has learnt that lesson, she is ready to take up all the stages of non-co-operation including non-payment of taxes. India is not ready today, but if we would be prepared to frustrate every plot that may be hatched for the destruction of Turkey or for prolonging our subjection, we must secure an atmosphere of enlightened non-violence as fast as possible, not the non-violence of the weak but the non-violence of the strong, who would disdain to kill but would gladly die for the vindication of truth.

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136. THE WORKING COMMITTEE AND ITS FUNCTION

The resolutions of the Working Committee have come in for some hostile criticism. Its ruling, questioning the propriety of non-co-operating lawyers attending law-courts and non-co-operating defendants entering upon their defence in law-courts, has been seriously called in question, and it has even been suggested that its rulings may be disregarded. It is, therefore, necessary to examine the function of the Working Committee. And before we can understand this, we must understand the Congress Constitution.

The goal of the Congress is attainment of swaraj by peaceful and legitimate means. The Congress must be worked so as to hasten India's progress towards her destined goal. The Constitution is so devised as to tax and prove the nation's capacity for self-government. It undoubtedly sets up a system of voluntary

government, in which the only force available is public opinion and the goodwill of the people. And seeing that the Congress is today engaged in opposing and, if need be, destroying the existing system, it follows that the greater the authority of the Congress, the less must be that of the Government. When the Congress commands complete confidence and *willing obedience* to its instructions, there is full swaraj. For, then the Government must respect popular opinion expressed through the Congress, or it must commit suicide. The Congress must, therefore, become the most united, the strongest in character and the largest organization in the land. The Congress policy, therefore, must command the readiest acceptance.

The Congress meets in session only once a year. It lays down policies. The All-India Congress Committee is designed to carry out the Congress policy as embodied in its resolutions. It must interpret all resolutions, and attend to all new matters, with the same authority as the Congress. The members may debate upon different propositions and interpretations as much as they choose, but except on matters of vital principle, the dissenters must conform to, and faithfully carry out, the resolutions of the majority. The discussions in the Committee are not open for re-discussion in public. In order to make the All-India Congress Committee an efficient body, the Constitution has provided for a Working Committee of fifteen, which must meet often and must be able to deal with all the matters delegated to it by the All-India Congress Committee. It is designed to exercise all the functions of the All-India Congress Committee when the latter is not sitting. It must watch and guide public opinion, it must interpret it, it must keep all the subsidiary organizations in working order, it must attend to all-India finance, it must distribute it, and whenever decision on matters of grave importance has to be taken, it must summon a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee for direction. The Working Committee is to the Congress what a Cabinet is to a Parliament. Its decisions must command respect if we are to evolve constitutional government during this year. Naturally, therefore, its members must be those who command the greatest respect of the All-India Congress Committee and of the nation. It dare not take any hasty decisions, and it must be a homogeneous body. It cannot have two policies or two parties within itself. Whilst the Congress represents the whole nation, and may, therefore, have every type and all parties, the Working Committee must consist of men representing the policy and the party that have the confidence of the majority of the delegates. Its decisions

have largely to be unanimous. When a member cannot pull on with the rest, he can resign, but he may not obstruct or affect the deliberations of the Committee by an open discussion of its deliberations in the Press. Whilst, therefore, the decisions of the Working Committee should be carried out by Congressmen, it is not an irresponsible body. It can be dismissed by the All-India Congress Committee by a vote of no-confidence. Its decisions are subject to be reviewed by the All-India Congress Committee, and even set aside for grave reasons. In my humble opinion, unless the Working Committee carries weight with people, it is hardly possible to attain swaraj during this year. Every one of us must, therefore, work to make the Congress an irresistible body by its resolutions being carried out in every little detail. What the Government does in the last resort by force of arms the Congress expects to do by force of affection. The Government has rendered itself irresistible by striking terror in the hearts of the people, the Congress must make itself felt by securing the free-will acceptance of its doctrines and policies. Non-violence thus runs through everything connected with the people's programme. But each organization expects to succeed by reason of people's co-operation. Loyalty to the Congress decisions is a *sine qua non* of success of the Nagpur determination to achieve swaraj during the year.

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137. THE MESSAGE OF THE CHARKHA

The *Indian Social Reformer* has published a note from a correspondent in praise of the spinning-wheel. The correspondent in the course of his remarks hopes that the movement will be so organized that the spinners may not weary of it. Mr. Amritlal Thakkar, in his valuable note (published in the *Servant of India*) on the experiment which he is conducting in Kathiawad, says that the charkha has been taken up by the peasant women. They are not likely to weary, for to them it is a source of livelihood to which they were used before. It had dried up because there was no demand for their yarn. Townspeople who have taken to spinning may weary if they have done so as a craze or a fashion. Those only will be faithful who consider it their duty to devote their spare hours to doing what is today the most useful work for the country. The third class of spinners are the school-going children. I expect the greatest results from the experiment of introducing the charkha in the national schools. If it is con-

ducted on scientific lines by teachers who believe in the charkha as the most efficient means of making education available to the seven and a half lakhs of villages in India, there is not only no danger of weariness, but every prospect of the nation being able to solve the problem of financing mass education without any extra taxation and without having to fall back upon immoral sources of revenue.

The writer in the *Indian Social Reformer* suggests that an attempt should be made to produce finer counts on the spinning-wheel. I may assure him that the process has already begun, but it will be some time before we arrive at the finish of the Dacca muslin or even twenty counts. Seeing that hand-spinning was only revived last September, and India began to believe in it somewhat only in December, the progress it has made may be regarded as phenomenal.

The writer's complaint that hand-spun yarn is not being woven as fast as it is spun is partly true. But the remedy is not so much to increase the number of looms as to persuade the existing weavers to use hand-spun yarn. Weaving is a much more complex process than spinning. It is not, like spinning, only a supplementary industry, but a complete means of livelihood. It therefore never died out. There are *enough weavers and enough looms in India to replace the whole of the foreign import of cloth.* It should be understood that our looms—thousands of them in Madras, Maharashtra and Bengal—are engaged in weaving the fine yarn imported from Japan and Manchester. We *must* utilize these for weaving hand-spun yarn. And for that purpose, the nation has to revise its taste for the thin, tawdry and useless muslins. I see no art in weaving muslins that do not cover but only expose the body. Our ideas of art must undergo a change. But even if the universal weaving of thin fabric be considered desirable in normal conditions, at the present moment whilst we are making a mighty effort to become free and self-supporting, we must be content to wear the cloth that our hand-spun yarn may yield. We have therefore to ask the fashionable on the one hand to be satisfied with coarser garments; we must educate the spinners on the other hand to spin finer and more even yarn.

The writer pleads for a reduction in the prices charged by mill-owners for their manufactures. When lovers of swadeshi begin to consider it their duty to wear khaddar, when the required number of spinning-wheels are working and the weavers are weaving hand-spun yarn, the mill-owners will be bound to reduce prices. It seems almost hopeless merely to appeal to the patriotism of those whose chief aim is to increase their own profits.

Incongruities pointed out by the writer such as the wearing of khaddar on public occasions and at other times of the most fashionable English suits, and the smoking of most expensive cigars by wearers of khaddar must disappear in course of time, as the new fashion gains strength. It is my claim that as soon as we have completed the boycott of foreign cloth, we shall have evolved so far that we shall necessarily give up the present absurdities and remodel national life in keeping with the ideal of simplicity and domesticity implanted in the bosom of the masses. We will not then be dragged into an imperialism which is built upon exploitation of the weaker races of the earth, and the acceptance of a giddy materialistic civilization protected by naval and air forces that have made peaceful living almost impossible. On the contrary, we shall then refine that imperialism into a commonwealth of nations which will combine, if they do, for the purpose of giving their best to the world and of protecting, not by brute force but by self-suffering, the weaker nations or races of the earth. Non-co-operation aims at nothing less than this revolution in the thought-world. Such a transformation can come only after the complete success of the spinning-wheel. India can become fit for delivering such a message when she has become proof against temptation and, therefore, attacks from outside, by becoming self-contained regarding two of her chief needs—food and clothing.

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138. A PLANTER'S LETTER

TO

MR. GANDHI AND OTHERS CONNECTED WITH THE NON-CO-OPERATION MOVEMENT

GENTLEMEN,

Have you ever stopped to consider where your non-co-operation movement is going to lead India to? I speak, if permitted to do so, for Assam. Non-co-operation is not the remedy, or I might say, is not the cure for the evident evils you are trying to remedy, but legislation. Legislation and compulsory education are the things required in the order named. Coolies in Assam are very well looked after by all Europeans on European-controlled tea gardens, but even on such gardens, I regret to say that the desire on the part of your own countrymen to extort money by unfair means from the poor coolie is more prevalent than it should be. The wages on tea gardens are distinctly good. My coolies earn on an average for men Rs. 10-3-8, for women Rs. 6-12-8,

for children Rs. 4-15-9. (Sept. 1920 Government Return.) In addition to these wages, free fuel, free medicine, free medical attendance, free housing accommodation, free grazing-ground, free *khet* land, rice supplied at much below bazaar rates when there is a famine on—these are the comforts bestowed on all the tea garden coolies of Assam, and I feel sure you will agree with me that "you can take a horse to the water, but you cannot make him drink," and you can take a coolie to the work, but you cannot make him work, and in every trade in the world a man must work. Piece-work is given on tea gardens, and a coolie can easily earn 8 to 10 annas daily, and a woman 4 to 6 annas, i.e., in the busy season. If they work with all the comforts above named, can you non-co-operators truthfully say the tea planter is not doing his duty towards the coolie? No. Your countrymen are beginning to realize that the poor coolie is not quite such a fool as he used to be, and not quite so much can be extorted out of him nowadays, and as the money must come from somewhere, you are endeavouring to take it through the coolie by telling him that he is underpaid, sweated labour, ill-treated and a host of other lies. Where are your reformed Councils and where is your Legislature? At the rate you people are travelling, you will be looking for your rent shortly.

What then is required? In Assam, the pay of the Indian staff should be increased 100 per cent. This would stop the present dissatisfaction amongst the baboo clerks, who in most cases have to support huge families on salaries which are inadequate, and to live they are compelled to get the money from somewhere; hence they extort from the weak, being unable to from the strong. My staff consists of one head and two junior clerks, all disgracefully paid. They do not steal; they can't, because I am too cute for them. I am exceedingly sorry for them, but as I am struggling to live, I cannot help them from my salary. Why should I? My employers do not permit me to pay them more, but it is bound to come sooner or later by agitation and co-operation, not by non-co-operation. The present methods of your followers have a Bolshevik tendency by turning a land now flowing with milk and honey into a chaos, and causing complete disorganization. Agitate, agitate, agitate. Co-operate, co-operate, co-operate. Legislate, legislate, legislate. I ask you to banish non-co-operation from your mind, it is useless.

I want to see in Assam:

1. Free labour. Liberty is wealth.

2. That every Indian can travel to any part of India from famine area to plenty without any restriction.

3. Legislation, the same for the poor and the rich, the same for the Indian and the European.

4. Legislation for the protection of Indian women and their Eurasian children.

5. The panchayat as a legal power on every tea garden, of which the manager must be president, and if the Indian can be tried by panchayat, so can the European. (My coolies have permission to try me.)

6. Payment of sick allowance to coolies compulsory.

7. Restriction of coolie marriages abolished.

8. Confinement allowance to pregnant women compulsory for six months.

You will admit, all these suggestions are for legislators, not for non-co-operators; therefore agitate, co-operate, legislate, and *Love "Mobut" Dayal "Mia" Beechar.*

What are your members of Council doing? Make them work, make them pass suitable laws, make them listen to the voice of the people. My strength is the love of my people (coolies); their strength is the love of their people, Indians, non-co-operators, co-operators, agitators, legislators, or it should be a house that is divided against itself and cannot stand; therefore, co-operate. I co-operate with all Indians that I meet or have dealings with, from the chamar to the Brahmin, from the coolie to the rajah. All are God's own, all are human, all I regard as my brothers. Where I can help I help, where I can alleviate trouble I do so, where I can teach I teach. Let brotherly love continue, it is not obtained by non-co-operation, but brotherly love is co-operation.

I am glad to be able to tell you that I am the manager of the most contented and the best-paid labour force in tea, and I can truthfully say that I have always, ever since I have been in India, made a point of alleviating the sufferings of my coolies, though of course one cannot please all. This has been done by co-operation and no strike has or will take place on the garden under my control. I speak with confidence. So I ask you, Mr. Gandhi, to stay your hand and the hand of your sympathizers, and stop this mad exodus from Assam. Think of the thousands of deaths being caused by this stampede. Two wrongs will never make one right.

I personally am very much against the methods employed in tea on every garden except my own and a few others. They are, I admit, a disgrace to the tea industry, i.e., gardens worked through the baboos. But what is required is co-operation, agitation, legislation, and not your methods, namely, Bolshevism with a non-co-operation tendency. The truth hurts no one.

Apologizing for the tone of my letter, which only speaks my mind,

I remain,
"CHI TACE CONFESSA"
"He who keeps silent, confesses"

I publish this letter without any alteration. The writer has sent me his name, but wishes to remain anonymous. I have seen, both in Natal and Champaran, the writer's prototypes. He means well, but does not know that he is no more than a kind cattle-keeper. Once admit that men may be treated like cattle, many a European manager would earn a certificate of merit from a Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Society. I know from experience that free medicine, free medical attendance, free housing accommodation and free grazing-ground are so many tricks of the trade, designed to keep the 'coolie' a serf for ever. He would be a freer man for being paid full wages and charged for housing and medicine. Free grazing-ground is to him, almost like breathing, indispensable. Eurasian children tell on every estate the story of man's and woman's shame. If I had the power, I would stop all the estates where the crime against Indian womanhood is proved by the presence of Eurasian children. I know the problem is difficult. But if the European learnt to respect the chastity of the Indian woman as his sister's, there would be no Eurasian children born out of wedlock. I am no believer in 'free' intercourse. The subject is too painful, the chastity of man and woman too sacred for me, to enable me to write with restraint on what I have seen on such estates, and heard. I do not for one moment wish to suggest that Indian managers would not commit the same crimes that European managers do. I know that their colour hides the shame in the faces of their crimes' creation. But I do maintain that the European manager does with impunity what the Indian dare not. But I must close this chapter here. The disingenuous suggestion that the manager should be the president of panchayat gives away the planters' case. The correspondent's advice regarding non-co-operation proceeds from ignorance. I can assure him that I never advised a single coolie in Assam to strike. I do not profess to know the problem of labour there. He should, moreover, know that there is no non-co-operation going on with capital or capitalists. Non-co-operation is going on with the existing Government as a system. But there is bound to be non-co-operation wherever there is evil, oppression and injustice, whether anybody wishes it or not. The people, having found the remedy, will resort to it. If they do so stupidly or unjustifiably, they alone will be the real losers. I do not believe that legislation or debates in the Councils can do much good. Not until employers begin to look upon labourers as members of their own family, or until the latter are educated to understand their own rights and know the method of securing them, will labourers be able to better their

position. Legislation in advance of public opinion is often worse than useless. Non-co-operation is the quickest method of creating public opinion, in the present case a change of manners, or as I have often put it, of heart.

Young India, 29-6-1921

139. LETTER TO LAJPAT RAI

[Before *June 30, 1921*]

DEAR LALAJI,

I do hope that the Punjab will contribute as much as Gujarat hopes to, before the end of the month. I say this because I know Amritsar so well and Amritsar has up to now done so badly in the matter of the collection. Amritsar is to the Punjab what Ahmedabad is to Gujarat in the matter of finance. Amritsar of all the places in India has been the hardest hit and therefore should lead in the struggle for making inhuman humiliations impossible. I wish you could make the monied people of Amritsar realize their great responsibility.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat of the draft in Gandhiji's hand : S.N. 7556

140. MY NOTES

[Before *June 30, 1921*][1]

POT OR TUMBLER

I am writing these notes on the day prior to the day of our test. Whether the product will be a perfect, full-sized pot or only a tumbler, the workers alone know, and God. The result corresponds to the sincerity behind the effort. If those engaged in collection work are sincere enough, the result is bound to follow. There is no doubt now about 10 lakhs being collected from Gujarat. The expectation, rather, is that the actual collection will exceed this figure. And why not? We have plenty, relatively. The mills in Gujarat can by themselves fulfil our expectation. The enterprising business men engaged in trade outside Gujarat can give

[1] This was evidently written before June 30, by which date the programme laid down at the Bezwada Congress was to be completed.

something. The Princes can give if they but shed fear. We have never, in the past, attempted such tasks as a people, never tested our strength. In our timidity, therefore, we put the figure rather low. As we gradually shed our fear, we shall go forward.

We want, however, three lakh members and one lakh spinning-wheels. Our future depends on whether we succeed in this effort. May God preserve Gujarat's and India's honour.

OUR BURDEN[1]

However, with more money, more members and more spinning-wheels, our responsibility also increases.[2] It is not enough that we have secured the crore. We should know to keep clear and complete accounts. We are not going to put the crore out at interest. We have collected it for our *immediate needs.* We have to elevate national life by means of it. We must boycott foreign cloth. We must introduce a system of national education. We must ameliorate the wretched condition of the suppressed classes. We must free the nation from the clutches of drink. We must banish for ever the spectre of famine from our country. The crore could be used up for all these things. For this, we need honest workers. Our accounts should be open for inspection even to a child. All hopes for assistance in the future must naturally depend upon a proper administration of the present trust. We have got in our collections the priceless ornaments of sinless sisters. Many girls have given up all such jewellery as was so dear to them. I know the names of some, but I do not care to publish them. They have not cared for publicity. I think them to be so holy that I would not like to take their names in vain. They have given only for the joy of giving. One widowed sister gave me all the pearls and rubies that still remained with her. My heart wept within me, as I accepted them. Are we fit recipients of gifts like these? A widow never likes to part with her ornaments; she holds them with all the greater tenacity. I put this sister on her guard. I asked her to have them back, if there was the least hesitation or bashfulness in the act of giving. She did not withdraw; she was already fully determined on the step she took. What if we use money thus obtained negligently, foolishly or dishonestly? We should not only be disappointed in our hope of swaraj. We should become the ever hopeless denizens of the darkest hell. I trust that the purity of these sisters—their religious fervour—will keep

[1] The translation of this part is reproduced from *Young India* of 6-7-1921.
[2] This sentence is supplied from the Gujarati original.

us on the straight path, will not allow our honour to be tarnished, and will lead to the fulfilment of all our desires and aspirations.

PARSI CONTRIBUTIONS

Whenever I heard people say that the Parsis had not joined the movement, I have merely smiled. The Parsi population in the country totals one lakh. On the basis only of numbers, their contribution would be full if they gave Rs. 4,120, provided the same number of members and accounted for 824 spinning-wheels. As a matter of fact, Rs. 4,120 have come from them just by way of petty contributions. The sums which Parsi friends sent anonymously must have come to this total. I also include in this Fund Parsi Rustomjee's contribution of Rs. 52,000. The Parsis must have, I believe, provided 4,120 members too. Some Parsi volunteers have been enrolling members of the Congress and doing excellent work in Bombay. There has been a Parsi lawyer, too, who gave up practice. One gentleman has resolved to utilize his scientific knowledge for the service of the people. It is true that the number of spinning-wheels among them is small, but even so Parsi women, and some men too, have taken up the work. Some Parsis also go out to picket liquor-booths. How can one say, in the face of this, that they have in any way done less than others? Not all papers run by them are opposed to the movement. The services of *Sanj Vartman* are known to all. Who has not heard of Shri Bharucha's hard work? As for the work being done by some Parsi ladies, I shall give my experiences some other time, but there is one name I must mention. The grand-daughter of India's "Grand Old Man" has been working tirelessly. She has, actually, adopted a completely khadi dress. Even if the Parsi community had done no more than what they have, we would have reason to be grateful to them, would have no reason for pointing a finger at them.

But the fact is that Shri Godrej has done something which far exceeds any other performances. He has contributed three lakhs. No other single individual has given so much. True, the entire amount is not available in cash today, but it is as secure as if offered in gold. He has earmarked the sum for two of the purest items in our programme, banishing liquor and *Antyaj* uplift. Money was earmarked for the latter cause on his insistence. For myself, I would have preferred to employ only Hindus' money for this work. It is for them to carry out this particular reform. But how could I stand in the way of this friend who offered what he did in utter sincerity of heart? With the receipt of this amount, I

believe the total contribution by Parsis, so far as my information goes, will easily come to not less than four lakhs, leaving out the value of the gifts promised by some of them. We cannot thank Shri Godrej and the Parsi community sufficiently.

Contributions have been received from South Africa too. The Patidar Mandal and the Khatri Mandal have telegraphically sent Rs. 8,275 and Rs. 960, respectively. I expect more yet.[1] I have always found the Patidars of South Africa to be generous.

Some persons seem to be under the impression that, after June, they should not collect or send contributions without permission. This is altogether wrong. All these days we concentrated our attention on the three aims laid down at Bezwada. This does not mean that, after June, we may not enrol new members or get new spinning-wheels made or collect further contributions. After completing the figure of one crore, we may, if we like, stop collections for the Tilak Swaraj Fund, but we are bound to continue them till that time. Our pledge has two aspects, collecting an amount of one crore and doing this before June 30. Even if we fail to collect the required amount before this date but, continuing our efforts, succeed in doing so later, we shall have done our duty. We may feel shame at our failure to do the thing within the time-limit, but we should certainly not prove shameless by refusing contributions altogether or offering less after the time-limit has expired. I hope, therefore, that those who are still to give their contributions to this Fund will do so even afterwards. As for Gujarat, it will have no need to make any such efforts since it will have fulfilled its self-imposed obligation.

So much about the Tilak Swaraj Fund. What about members and spinning-wheels? Only this, that before June 30 Gujarat should enrol not less than three lakh members and put into commission not less than one lakh spinning-wheels. Our duty, however, is to see that Gujarat enrols every man and woman of 21 years and over, that every home in the province has a spinning-wheel and that everyone, from ripe old men to mere children, is persuaded to learn spinning. If we put the population of Gujarat at 90 lakhs and count the number of homes at the rate of one for every five persons, we get 18 lakh homes. We should not, therefore, rest satisfied till we have put into commission 18 lakh spinning-wheels. There can be no upper limit for the enrolment of members

[1] A footnote in the source says: "After this was written, cables have been received advising remittance of about £100 by the Indian Association of Stanger and Rs. 1,274 from Nairobi."

and the spread of spinning-wheels. The more of them we have the greater will be our strength, the brighter the swaraj flag, the stronger the wind filling the sails of the swaraj ship and the faster the speed. From the number of members and spinning-wheels we reach before the end of June, we would be able to measure our speed, judge whether our energy has increased or decreased and whether our faith has become stronger or declined. Our getting swaraj depends on our continuing to work unremittingly on both these items.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 3-7-1921

141. SPEECH AT BORIVLI MEETING[1]

June 30, 1912

Mr. Gandhi said Thursday was the last and the greatest day and India was on her trial and he hoped they would not be found wanting. Time was very valuable and he was not going to make a long speech. They had to collect the one crore on that day and they should not fail in their duty. He did not know how he would succeed in collecting the amount, but he had the greatest faith in the capacity and patriotism of Indians and he felt sure in his heart of hearts that they would succeed in collecting the necessary amount. He did not know how much money was collected in Bombay for he had been to Ahmedabad. He did not also know how much was collected in Gujarat which had undertaken to collect Rs. 10 lakhs, although they had actually collected as much as Rs. 12 lakhs and they had every hope of getting Rs. 15 lakhs. On his way from Ahmedabad some gentlemen had handed him a cheque for one lakh and announced the gift of a piece of very valuable land near Bombay. At the door of the *pandal* he had been given a cheque for Rs. 25,000. From Johannesburg he had received a remittance for Rs. 9,000 and from the Khatri community Rs. 1,000.

He had great hopes that the people of Bombay would give him the necessary amount, for the great burden of collecting the Fund rested on Bombay. When he had left Bombay, they had collected about 15 or 20 lakhs of rupees and he had high hopes that India, which was being tried now, would not be found wanting. He had only heard there that there was a large number of rich merchants in Borivli and he prayed to God that they would help the Fund in a liberal spirit.

[1] The public of Borivli presented a purse to Gandhiji on Thursday morning for the Tilak Swaraj Fund. There was a large gathering of men and women. V. J. Patel, the Ali Brothers and Sarojini Naidu were among those present.

In Ahmedabad and in Bombay he had heard that the *Vaishnavas* had still great doubts about the movement and he had already written a letter[1] to them which he hoped they would all read. At the present time India wanted all communities to unite together in one great effort to win swaraj; that did not mean, however, that they should give up their different religions. As long as the world existed, there would always be diversity and differences of opinion and there would be different religions. But they should be united in their efforts to obtain swaraj. They would however never be able to win swaraj by keeping down the lower classes. To put them down, to look down upon them, to hate them, to abuse them, to give them no access to their wells, to exclude them from their villages, was certainly not *Vaishnavism*. That was a godless religion and *Vaishnavism* was something quite different. Vallabhacharya[2] had never taught his disciples to follow a religion of hate and intolerance. His teachings were to the effect that they should lift up the depressed classes, the people who were steeped in ignorance and poverty. Vallabhacharya had not told them to keep down their brethren. The more he thought about these matters the more firmly he believed that the *Vaishnavas* were wrong in the attitude they had adopted in regard to this question.

He was telling this to them as a man of the world, as an old man, as a man who had much experience of these things. He knew from his South African experiences what it was to be a man of the depressed classes. He was treated as a man belonging to the depressed classes in South Africa; because he had to live apart from the white people in a place called the "location" which was really a *dhedwada* (a place where the sweepers lived), where there were no sanitary arrangements or lights or roads or any other amenities of a civilized town. There he knew what it was to be an *Antyaj* and he had suffered from those things there under which his brethren were now groaning in India. If they could not treat their brethren with consideration, what was the use of their being Indians, and what was the use of their being born in this land?

On account of the cruelties and humiliations which they had suffered at the hands of Englishmen, they had called their Government Satanic and they had decided not to co-operate with them and, were they, Indians, going to treat their brethren in the same manner as the whites were treating them? Was it not worth while to take stock of what they were doing? Was it not worth while to pause and consider what they were doing? He had not asked the *Vaishnavas* to take food at the hands of the depressed classes, but merely to treat them as their brothers. If they could all be united in their resolve, they could have swaraj at that very moment, but they had so many different castes. If Hindus thought that the Muslims were their born enemies, and they should make it their

[1] *Vide* "To *Vaishnavas*" 3-7-1921.

[2] A fifteenth-century philosopher

duty to hate them as such, they would never get swaraj. Indians were loath to abolish the bar of untouchabilitiy out of sheer fear, and he would tell them on the last day of June, a day of high resolve and much import, that it was this fear which had forced them to keep down their brethren and to lead a life apart from theirs. Unless their hearts were full of mercy, of pity for the poor, of love for their brethren, Indians would never be fit for swaraj. He had not much fear for the crore of rupees and he did not mind it so much, because anyhow they would be able to collect that amount. But what he wanted them to do was to love their depressed brethren. The swaraj which he wanted was not to be one founded on hate and fear; his was swaraj of the righteous. His was a *dharmarajya*.

From tomorrow they would not hear him talking and begging for money. They would hear something quite different. They would have to give up dealing in all foreign things from the next day. Those who dealt in foreign cloth would have to cease doing that. Those who were trading in English cloth must stop doing that and he appealed to his sisters to give up the use of foreign clothes and to use only khaddar. If they wanted to do their duty to their country they should discard the foreign clothes and take to khaddar. If his sisters and daughters loved him and had any respect for him, he appealed to them to give up their foreign clothes and make up their minds once and for all to give up all these luxuries for ever.

In this instance he would tell them a personal incident. Only the other day his wife had told him that she was unable to cook his food and do the household work in the thick khaddar cloth she was wearing and she wanted his permission to wear something lighter, something thinner. While he gave full liberty to his wife in all things, as he had full liberty to do what he liked, he was naturally unwilling to tell her to do anything. But he had to tell his wife that, if she could not cook his food in khaddar, then she had better not cook at all for him, for he would not take anything cooked by her while using unholy foreign things. He would not touch anything which was cooked by his wife while wearing foreign clothes. If Indian women were not willing to make this much sacrifice, were not willing to have this much suffering, then they would have to suffer more Jallianwala Baghs. There was much more suffering in store for them than that which they had to put up with on this last day of the month, to give proper heed to his words[*sic*]. He earnestly appealed to all Hindus and Muslims to give up using foreign things and to use only those things which were made in this country.

The Bombay Chronicle, 1-7-1921

142. SPEECH AT PARSI MEETING, BOMBAY[1]

June 30, 1921

Mr. Gandhi in the course of his lengthy speech asked the audience to allow him to speak without interruptions or cheers. He had never said that the Parsis did not know him thoroughly, and that they were not with him. Since he was a young boy he knew the Parsis, and the Parsis knew him. His best and most intimate friends were Parsis, and his relations with the community were of the most intimate kind. Dadabhai was like his father or rather, grandfather, and if they ever got swaraj it would be due to the efforts of Dadabhai and the splendid work he had done for this country. He it was who had taught him the lesson of swaraj when he was a young man. When he went to England taking with him a deputation from South Africa, he was acting and saying what Dadabhai Naoroji and Mehta[2] were telling him. He had never thought that the Parsis were against him, and he had every hope that they would join him in this movement. He was not at all sorry that they had their own doubts in their minds. It was only the Parsis who had lived among thirty crores of Indians for so many hundreds of years and still they had asserted themselves and become prominent in the affairs of this country. He was not going to flatter them, and he had no such intention. He was telling them what he really felt in his mind. There were many communities in this world who had such small numbers as the Parsis had, but they were not known outside their own countries, to the whole world. But what part was there in the whole world where the Parsi community was not known, although their number was only 80,000? If Bombay was beautiful, if Bombay was noted for its generosity, if Bombay was noted for its public spirit, it was due to the Parsi community. If it were not for the Parsis, Bombay would be like any other city in India, and the whole of India was thankful to the Parsis for this. If anybody had given any lead to Indians in politics it was the Parsis, and he would ask his Hindu and Muslim friends not to blame the Parsis in any way. If all the communities were united among themselves, they could have swaraj that very moment. He for one was proud that the Parsis came to this country instead of going to any other country, and he was also glad that they were given shelter in Gujarat, to which province they had rendered very valuable services.

[1] The Parsis met at the Excelsior Theatre to present Gandhiji with a purse of Rs. 30,001 for the Tilak Swaraj Fund. Those present at the meeting included V. J. Patel, Sarojini Naidu, Mr. and Mrs. Marmaduke Pickthall, the Ali Brothers and Dr. Kitchlew.

[2] Pherozeshah Mehta

When in South Africa the whites had besieged his house in the dead of night and wanted to kill him, it was Parsi Rustomji who had protected him at the risk of his life and at the risk of his own and that of his people and stood by him. As long as he lived he could never forget what Mr. Rustomji had done for him. The Parsis were full of virtue, truth and honesty, and he was proud of them as a race. Even if the Parsis had not collected Rs. 30,000 and had only given him Rs. 5, he would still have been satisfied with them. Mr. Godrej had already handed him a sum of Rs. 3 lakhs and he had shown to the whole of India what the Parsis were capable of doing. The Parsi community had given him liberally in many ways, and it was not a fact that by coming to India they had not done any service to this country. His opinion was that they had paid their debt fully to this country. Naturally they were a commercial people, and it was a pity that they had taken up Government appointments lately. It was a loss to the whole of India and not to the Parsi community alone. But the education which they had got had made them seek Government employment, and it was a great pity. Commerce had taught them to be honest and collect money and do good to other communities in this country, and he asked them to take stock of the present conditions and their future. They had fully paid their debts to the country by producing such great men as Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta and Jamshedji Tata. He appealed to the Parsis to take part in the swaraj movement which was now going on in full swing. The Parsis were able to compete with other communities in every department of life. If they had done so much in this country in the past, why were they keeping themselves aloof from the movement now? They were a rich community, possessing crores of rupees, and why had not they given any more money to the Fund? Dadabhai had served India by leading the life of a political recluse for the purpose of making India free, not for Parsis alone, but for all communities and races. The speaker was going to speak to them as their friend because he was a great admirer of theirs and was very intimate with them for a long time.

Continuing, the Mahatma said, if the Parsis wished it, they could easily accomplish anything, because they were a small, compact community of eighty thousand, but that was not so with the Hindus and Muslims. If they could remain independent even before the English came, he did not know why they could not be so when they got swaraj. It was the first duty of Hindus and Muslims to protect the smaller communities in this land. If the Hindus and Muslims were true to themselves, they would see that not a Parsi was starving before they took any morsel of food. If Hindus or Muslims wished to do anything else, then they were working not for a *dharmarajya*. He wanted to make India not Satanic, but he wanted to establish *dharmarajya*. He wanted to make the Parsis fearless and drive away their doubts and he wanted them to devote their energies for the welfare of this country. If they could do so, they could get swaraj this year, and they could also right the Khilafat wrong

and also those of the Punjab. If they wanted to rule over the world just as the British were doing, then he would say that Indians were not fit for it, and he prayed to God never to make them fit for it. Did Indians want to make slaves of Negroes, or make them prisoners, or make them work for ourselves and to keep them as beggars? He wanted them to be free by purifying themselves and then rid the whole world of all its evils.

He appealed to the Parsis to become swarajists that very moment. They were swarajists, but they had some doubts in their minds but he begged of them to become true swarajists. He asked them to consider these questions properly and ask themselves whether Gandhi was a fool to speak of these things. The swaraj that India was going to have was a *dharmarajya*. Indians wanted to establish swaraj based on truth and not on falsehood, and they wanted to keep clear of everything that was false. It was the Parsi religion which had taught him to non-co-operate with Satan; it had taught him to keep apart from Satan, from all evil. He did not hate Englishmen, neither did he want them to be driven out of this country, but he disliked being what Lord Reading called the subjects of Englishmen. His soul trembled to consider of these things. They should have strength enough to resist any evil. It was not necessary for them to have revolvers or to become barristers or lawyers for the winning of swaraj. What was essential was the belief in self, and he regretted that the Parsis were so full of doubts. He begged of them to drive away all those doubts. He appealed to them to become swarajists and to unite with other communities in the cause of freedom.

Mr. Gandhi then referred to the liquor shops. He said there was a great responsibility on the shoulders of the Parsis in Bombay. There were about nine hundred country liquor shops in the town and the majority of them were owned by the Parsis. Many Parsis had approached him and told him that they had already given a year's purchase price to Government and that if their shops were picketed they would be ruined and they would lose all their money. He had considered over these things, and he felt very sorry for the shopkeepers. He was not sorry at all for the Parsis if they were co-operating with Government or if they had not given up their titles. But the liquor shops were a more serious matter. He was sorry that Hindus and Mohammedans were the only pickets. He wished his Parsi brothers and sisters would also picket. He wanted no force to be used because he did not wish any objectionable methods in [the achievement of] the holy object they had. When Parsi women stood in the path of Parsis going to these drink shops they would be ashamed to enter the shops and they would be ashamed to abuse them and they would not beat them. He asked the Parsis to give up drink, and to help their people who had to shut up their shops on account of picketing. He asked them to help the shopkeepers to get a refund of their [licence] fees from the Government and to help them in every possible way. In Ahmedabad a Parsi contractor had complained to him that he had been assaulted by the

pickets and he found this statement on investigation to be false. It was the volunteers on the other hand who had been assaulted, and they were now picketing with their heads bandaged and they had not raised their hands to retaliate.

He earnestly appealed to his Parsi brothers and sisters to help the efforts of the other communities to stop drink. He did not think that the Parsi millionaires who had not attended the meeting were against his movement, and he appealed to them to help the Parsi liquor contractors in all ways. In the meantime he asked them to help the cause of swaraj. He prayed to God that He would give the Parsi community strength to take their legitimate part in the struggle which was now going on for the winning of swaraj and make them realize what their duty was at this juncture.

The Bombay Chronicle, 1-7-1921

143. SPEECH TO MERCHANTS, BOMBAY[1]

June 30, 1921

Mahatma Gandhi said he thankfully received the amount they gave to win the country's liberty. He hoped they did not expect from him a long speech at the moment, as he was to attend two more meetings in the evening. He had only to say that, if the traders like the cotton merchants of Colaba realized the political situation of the country, it would not at all be difficult to get the Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs righted. It was his desire that the trading classes of the country would from now take a prominent part in the politics of their country. Until the trading classes began taking more interest in the affairs of their country, they had no hope for the success in their cause. But there was a happy sign of awakening in these classes now. And if they went on at this rate, swaraj was sure during the current year. It was the first duty of the trading classes to take a leading part in the political situation of their country. He agreed with Mr. Mathuradas who said that their contribution to the Swaraj Fund was not what it ought to have been. Because, they are annually exporting cotton worth crores of rupees to foreign countries and as *prayaschitta* for that sin they must make up the deficit in getting a crore of rupees. The crore must be complete by that night. He had full confidence in the Indian people who, he hoped, would not dishonour the Congress mandate. They could expect forty lakhs from other provinces and the remaining sixty lakhs would be made up by them in Bombay. He fervently hoped they would exert themselves to collect that amount and thereby guard

[1] This was delivered at a meeting held under the auspices of the Cotton Association at which cotton merchants and workers presented Gandhiji with a purse of Rs. 2,50,000 for the Tilak Swaraj Fund. Mathuradas Vasanji Khimji, President of the Association, welcomed Gandhiji.

the prestige of their nation. That was the last day of the vow which they took at Bezwada and if the sum was not procured before the day ended, the whole of India would have to be ashamed. At present the honour of the nation rested on the merchants. In money matters only they could help. A beggar like the speaker could not be expected to render any pecuniary help. Concluding, he prayed to God to give them strength to preserve the prestige of the country by securing the necessary amount.

The Bombay Chronicle, 1-7-1921

144. SPEECH AT BOMBAY MEETING[1]

June 30, 1921

Mahatmaji said the great enthusiasm which he had noticed with the men and women at Bombay promised a hopeful future and he hoped they would be able to realize the vow which they had once taken in Calcutta and then again at Nagpur. He did not know till that hour what exact amount was collected in the country. But only a few minutes ago he had learnt that Kathiawar had collected more than two lakhs and in the morning he received a cheque for Rs. 25,000 from a gentleman. They did not expect anything more than Rs. 50,000 from Kathiawar. From what he had been noticing he was hopeful that a crore would be collected. But he wanted to be sure about it and therefore wanted an assurance from some of the mill-owners of Bombay that, in case the wanted amount was not collected, they would make up the deficit. He earnestly hoped he would get such an assurance. Continuing, he said that he would take that opportunity of speaking a few words to the ladies about the faith and prestige of their country. As everyone knew, women were the trustees of their honour and they were the producers of the nation. The nation could be a strong or an ideal nation only when their women were thoroughly religious and patriotic. At present the chastity and the religion of the Indian women were involved in khaddar. He therefore appealed to them that they should from now on abandon all foreign clothes and adorn themselves and their children in pure khaddar.

The Bombay Chronicle, 2-7-1921

[1] A meeting was held in the evening under the auspices of the Mandvi Ward Congress Committee at New Chinch Bunder, for raising further contributions to the Tilak Swaraj Fund.

145. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO A WOMAN CONTRIBUTOR

ON THE TRAIN,
June 30, 1921

The paragraph in the papers about your jewels takes away all the grace from[1] your gift. I had hoped that it was a silent act of[2] sacrifice. Let me tell you that many girls have given more than you have. They have not wished to advertise themselves. A sister gave me two days ago all her rich jewels—pearl necklaces and ruby bracelets and ear-rings. She gave them with such humility and grace. Her name she does not want. She gave them for the sake of God. I am sorry for you. Pray forgive me for this bitter truth. . . .

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

146. SPEECH AT BANDRA MEETING[3]

July 1, 1921

Mahatma Gandhi said they had not been able to get any sleep the previous night. They were in the theatre up till 2 a.m. They had not gone there to see the play, but to collect money for the Tilak Fund and when he saw his friend Mahomed Ali bringing in his bag a sum of Rs. 25,000 in addition to ornaments, he was very glad that he had again gone to the theatre after 30 years. That was the reason why the Ali Brothers had not been able to come to the meeting. They were quite tired and exhausted. He himself would not have been able to come there had it not been for his promise to Mr. Patel. He agreed with Mr. Patel that they wanted to collect the amount in small sums from poor men, and he would have been glad if the poor of this land had given him the one crore of rupees by small contributions. They had been able to collect nearly a crore of rupees. Forty-four lakhs had been collected in the rest of India and the balance had been collected in this Presidency. He wanted to publish it that they had been able to collect one crore of rupees and that the self-respect of this country had been kept. By mid-

[1] The source here has "for".

[2] The source here has "to".

[3] Gandhiji addressed a meeting held in the morning in a suburb of North Bombay to present him a cheque for Rs. 15,000 for the Tilak Swaraj Fund.

night yesterday they had succeeded in collecting about 81 to 82 lakhs of rupees. When they were able to collect such a large sum in so few days, they would be able to collect the balance very easily. He had, however, talked to some four or five rich men about the deficiency and they had promised to make good the balance. He did not want to publish it to the world that he had taken a guarantee because his friends told him that, if their names were published, it would merely be advertising them and that the people would not pay their contributions. He was, therefore, glad to announce to them that the crore would be made up. If the sum had been collected in small contributions, he would then say that the men of Bandra were fit for swaraj. He did not mind at all if the rich people of Bandra had not paid anything. They would be able to pay hereafter. He was not even pained when Mr. Patel had informed him that Bandra would be able to collect only Rs. 10,000. While he congratulated them on collecting the sum, he could not congratulate them on the total number of members of Congress they had been able to register and also on the number of charkhas they used. He did not so much care for the crore of rupees, but he did care about the crore of members for the Congress. When he was speaking to a friend about the money he required and was telling him that he would not be satisfied with one crore of rupees but that he required many crores of rupees, his friend told him that even the Victoria Memorial Fund had amounted to about Rs. 52 lakhs and that that fund was gathered through the influence of officials by means of "pressure and persuasion". The Tilak Fund had been collected without any pressure and only by means of voluntary contributions. How much greater was their effort then in collecting the amount?

They had fulfilled the Bezwada programme! But now they had to collect the members for the Congress and they should also introduce the requisite number of charkhas into every house. They had six crores of families in this land and in every house there must be a charkha. He would not be satisfied with the number of charkhas alone, or the amount of yarn spun by them. He wanted something more than that. He wanted the sign of the charkha on their bodies, that was to say, they should wear khaddar. If they used khaddar, then it was a proof positive that they were using the charkha. They were living under a delusion for so many years and hence they were using foreign cloth. If they wanted swaraj, they must make use of khaddar only. Indians must use only swadeshi cloth, and they must use khaddar for every purpose in life. Lokamanya Tilak once told a friend of his that, even if their country was full of disease and malaria, they were not going to go out of India to Englnd and there try for swaraj. India was their motherland and however bad the climate might be, they had to remain there and they must die there. Unless they were able to do that they would never be happy in this land. If they loved India, if they revered Tilak, who had said that swaraj was their birthright, then let Indians give up the use of foreign clothes. Only the day before, a